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the 1990s, the number of people with a mental health problem has increased by 50% (Mental Health Foundation 1999).

There is a growing awareness of the need to address the needs of people with mental health problems, and the importance of providing them with appropriate services. This has led to a number of initiatives, including the development of mental health services, the establishment of mental health trusts, and the implementation of mental health legislation. The aim of this paper is to review the current state of mental health services in the UK, and to discuss the challenges facing them in the future.

The paper is organized as follows. First, we discuss the current state of mental health services in the UK, including the number of people with a mental health problem, the types of services available, and the challenges facing them. Second, we discuss the challenges facing mental health services in the future, including the need to address the needs of people with mental health problems, the importance of providing them with appropriate services, and the need to develop new services. Finally, we discuss the implications of these findings for policy and practice.

The current state of mental health services in the UK is characterized by a number of challenges. First, the number of people with a mental health problem has increased significantly in recent years. This has led to a growing demand for services, which is not always met. Second, the types of services available are often inadequate, particularly for people with severe mental health problems. Third, the challenges facing mental health services in the future are significant, including the need to address the needs of people with mental health problems, the importance of providing them with appropriate services, and the need to develop new services.

The need to address the needs of people with mental health problems is a major challenge facing mental health services. This is because people with mental health problems often experience significant difficulties, including problems with employment, housing, and social relationships. These difficulties can lead to a range of problems, including homelessness, poverty, and social isolation. Therefore, it is essential that mental health services provide people with the support they need to overcome these difficulties.

The importance of providing people with appropriate services is another major challenge facing mental health services. This is because people with mental health problems often need a range of services, including psychological, social, and medical services. If these services are not provided, people may experience a range of problems, including problems with employment, housing, and social relationships. Therefore, it is essential that mental health services provide people with the services they need.

The need to develop new services is a third major challenge facing mental health services. This is because the current state of mental health services is often inadequate, particularly for people with severe mental health problems. Therefore, it is essential that mental health services develop new services to meet the needs of these people. This may involve the development of new types of services, such as community mental health teams, or the expansion of existing services.

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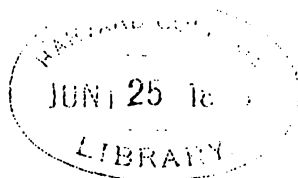
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PREFACE.

THE present moment seems especially opportune for the publication of a volume on Church Reform.

The questions relating to the Church system, which have for some time past been laid aside through the pressure of those relating to Ireland, are likely before long to come again into prominence. In the event of the next General Election returning a verdict so clear and emphatic as to convince all practical politicians of the uselessness of continuing the struggle for Home Rule, it is very probable that the election following upon this will be fought upon the question whether the present Church system—the organization for the promotion of religion under a national sanction and government—shall be abolished or maintained. Should the General Election, on the other hand, result in a reduced Unionist or a Home Rule majority, then it is no doubt true that the struggle for Disestablishment will be postponed ; but it is no less true that, putting aside the Irish question, Disestablishment holds the most prominent place in the present programme of some of the chief politicians in both the wings of the Liberal party ; and unless some great change of opinion on the intrinsic or relative importance of Disestablishment takes place before the Home Rule controversy is disposed of, the question of the maintenance or the abolition of the National Church system will in its turn become the subject of serious and bitter party conflict.

It is therefore most desirable, in the opinion of all who believe that the National Church system can be made, by careful and judicious reforms, into the most potent instrument for promoting God's truth and the highest well-being of the people that the human mind has ever been able to imagine or conceive, that we should utilize the interval of calmness that precedes the storm of controversy, by embarking upon the fullest discussion and the freest consideration of the relative advantages of the two opposite policies of Disestablishment and Reform. It is better that discussions should be held now, at a time when they can be carried on with perfect freedom, than that they should be postponed to the time when the warring interests of rival sections will be only too likely to persuade fighting politicians to shut the door against reason and argument, and deafen their ears to everything but that which may serve to promote the victory of the party to which they belong.

We therefore offer this volume to the public at the present time in the hope that it may stimulate a controversy that will draw the attention of the public to the real character of the coming issue. We offer it in the belief that the result of such a controversy will be to create a powerful and increasing sentiment in favour of Reform; and we offer it also in the belief that its perusal will be likely to beget an acknowledgment from circles at present Liberationist, that the policy of Church Reform, as explained in the chapters of this volume, agrees far more truly with the principle of religious equality, is far more likely to stimulate an active development of the sublime principles of Christianity, is far better calculated to break down the barriers of class exclusiveness, and to promote in their place brotherhood, association, union, and sympathy, and has consequently far greater claims upon the support and approval of the nation, than has the wanton, reckless, and destructive policy contained in the proposals of the Abolitionists.

We wish, however, to state that we have a full, nay, a

tender sympathy with the spirit which animates those Liberationists whose hostility to the principle of the Establishment is born out of the belief that the National Church is a sectarian institution, and only national in the sense that it is privileged by the patronage of the State.

If it could be proved—as we deny that it can be proved—that the maintenance of the Establishment meant the invidious selection of one sect arbitrarily chosen out of many, for the perpetual and exclusive support and favour of the State, then we should be foremost among those who ask for Disestablishment, in order that we might get rid of an unjust and mischievous privilege. But, if the maintenance of the Establishment means, as we contend that it does mean, that the nation shall continue to exercise through Parliament a full and absolute control over the administration of the vast funds which have been bequeathed by generations of individuals for the promotion of righteousness in the different parishes of England and Wales, then we assert that the demand for Disestablishment, in the name of hostility to privilege, because there are many to whom the present services and administrations of the National Church are displeasing, is as absurd as would be a demand for the wholesale disfranchisement of the British electorate because we have not universal suffrage.

To abolish the right of voting because we have not universal suffrage would be of course a gross and obvious absurdity; but to ask us to disestablish the Church because, in its present unreformed state, it may be truly said to be rather the Church of the clergy than of the people, is not one whit less absurd or less extravagant.

It cannot be too clearly understood, that for any fault or flaw which interferes with the proper working or effective administration of the resources of the Church, Parliament and the nation have the remedy in their own hands. It is the business of the State to make laws for every estate of the realm, ecclesiastical as well as civil. If the laws made in time past for the government of the

commonwealth on its civil side be thought not satisfactory, reforms will sooner or later be eagerly demanded on the hustings, and finally passed through Parliament. In the same way, if the laws made in time past for the government of the ecclesiastical estate are in their turn not satisfactory, what is wanted is not the Disestablishment of the Church, but a similar treatment of Reform.

If, as we fully admit, the Church system, as at present organized, to a great extent fails in the fulfilment of the object for which it exists, the fault lies not in the national principle, but in the wrong working and application of that principle, and it becomes the duty of Parliament, which is responsible for the efficient working of that principle, to introduce such reforms into its organization as may help the Church to fulfil with greater efficiency its noble and sacred work.

The fact that the State has proved a careless and negligent trustee in the past cannot be brought forward with any fairness as a reason why the State should now be called upon to abandon its trust. On the contrary, in an age conspicuous for an awakening sense of duty, the very fact of past omissions provides an additional incentive for a more vigorous and conscientious fulfilment of its trust in the future. The State is bound to see that the vast funds entrusted to it for the promotion of religion are used in such a manner as may seem likely to call forth the highest and noblest results. We endeavour to show in this volume that the best, the most enduring and furthest reaching results are most likely to be obtained by investing the people with some measure of responsibility for the work of the Church in their own parishes, and we accordingly maintain that the most pressing and important Church reform is that which offers to the whole body of the parishioners a control, limited in such a way as the wisdom of Parliament may direct, over the affairs relating to their parish churches.

It is our hope that this will be made evident to all who read this volume, and that the result of its perusal will be

to convert a large number of Liberationists into zealous and ardent Church Reformers.

There is, however, one class of Liberationists whom it is vain and hopeless for us to expect to convince—namely, the Liberationists within the Church.

It is an unfortunate fact that the Clericalist party, if not powerful from their numbers, yet most powerful from their cohesion, and from the zeal, high characters, and noble lives of many among them, would infinitely prefer the policy of Disestablishment to the alternative policy of Church Reform as explained in this volume.

It would, I fear, be vain on our part to hope, by conciliation or compromise, to win for our proposals the support of a party which believes that the interests of religion lie not in the nationalization of the Church system, but in its emancipation from State control.

So long as the alternative presented to them assumes in their eyes the shape of Disestablishment on the one hand, and the maintenance of the Church system as it is on the other, the Anglican Liberationists may be expected to offer to the policy of Disestablishment the same vigorous resistance they have ever brought against it in the past ; for the present state of things gives them an undue share of power, and at the same time shuts off the wholesome influence of the nation and the parishioners ;—but so soon as it may appear that there is serious danger of popular Church reforms being pressed upon Parliament with a chance of being accepted, then it is to be apprehended that many of the clergy who have till the present moment been amongst the most zealous champions of the National principle, will become the most energetic and vehement advocates of Disestablishment. This section of the Church, who wince and writhe under the lightest touch of National control, hope to obtain for themselves in full, absolute, and complete dominion, the rich inheritance of the National Establishment. And this they may well expect ; for schemes like those of the Liberation Society provide for the interests of the clergy, but entirely

ignore those of the laity. It is our hope that the publication of this volume may help to prevent the realization of this disaster, by opening the eyes of many who now in ignorant zeal clamour for Disestablishment to the fact that the result of their policy, if carried into effect, will be to hand over to a sect a magnificent national inheritance, consisting of vast revenues, and a powerful machinery capable of being made, if it remains under national control, the most powerful engine that has ever been at the service of humanity for the lifting up the life of a people to a higher and nobler level.

It is not then to the high Anglican section, whose policy is to win for the Church all the freedom of a sect while it remains in enjoyment of all the advantages that appertain to a National Establishment, and who may safely be expected to become vehement Liberationists as soon as the granting of popular reforms in the organization of the Church comes within the range of practical politics,—it is not to them that we can venture to appeal for support by the arguments we employ in this volume. But to that section of the Liberationists who ask for the abolition of the Establishment because they do not at present realize that they have any lot or portion in it, we appeal with confidence and with hope.

We are aware that it is not realized by thousands who advocate Disestablishment, that the Establishment which they wish to destroy because they regard it as inseparably bound up with the fortunes of a privileged sect, is under the full and absolute control of Parliament, and therefore of the people, and of themselves as part of the people. They do not realize that the national Parliament has enforced by statutes the whole system of teaching and of ritual; that the national Law Courts decide upon the legality of the doctrine taught; and that ministers responsible to the nation nominate the leading portion of the clergy appointed to preach that doctrine. When they realize that the nation, through its Parliament, has, from time to time, as the wants and necessities of the time required,

altered the ritual, remodelled the system and re-cast the organization of the Church, and when they further realize that the power of Parliament remains in no way diminished, but that which it has already accomplished it may, under pressure of public opinion, accomplish again and again, it may be expected that they will seriously ask themselves the question : Is it not possible to do something better with the vast revenues and incomparable organization of the Church system than to hand over all responsibility for its administration to a clericalist sect set up and endowed by our own perverse action ?

The fatal reactionary effects of such a policy will be explained with adequate fulness in the chapters of this volume, where it will also be shown that the signing away of the right of national control over the vast funds which have been entrusted to the nation for the promotion of righteousness would be a faithless dereliction of duty and an inexcusable betrayal of trust.

We cling with tenacity to the national principle, because it is only through its maintenance and development that we can ever hope to come within any proximity of the great ideal which has been the favourite and darling thought of all great Christian social reformers from the days of Sir Thomas More down to the present time.

That ideal is, that in every boundary fit to be considered a separate parish, every area populous enough to create an active and enterprising civic spirit, and at the same time small enough to enable one organization to cope effectually with the wants and needs of its population, there should be a close and powerful association of all whose bond of union lies in a common love of Christ, and in a desire to promote every movement which may tend to quicken the heart, to ennoble the aspirations, to purify the spirit, and to raise the life, of all within the precincts of the parish.

Now if it were suggested to any ardent Liberal that we had a piece of machinery ready to our hand which only

wanted certain alterations in its construction to enable us to make a long stride towards this inspiring ideal, what should we think of him if he counselled us to cast it away and not to concern ourselves about improving it, simply because the way in which its work had been accomplished in the past had not been satisfactory to him, and he did not wish to bring upon himself the trouble which the effort to obtain the desired alterations would necessarily entail? What should we say of him if he went on to make proposals the effect of which would be to hand over this great inheritance to the clerical party, which throughout our history has been the foe of religious liberty and equality?

We do not believe that any sincere reformer who once has grasped the character of the true relation of the Church to the State, as explained in this volume, and who realizes what are the enormous potentialities for good enjoyed by a national organization, capable of being adapted and moulded to the varying wants of each successive generation, according to the exigencies of the time, will ever lightly demand its abolition; and in the confident hope that this expectation is not ill-founded, we respectfully solicit the attention of all social reformers and lovers of progress to these few chapters on Church Reform.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Church reforms advocated in these pages proceed distinctly on the National basis. They start from the presumption that it is possible for practical purposes to treat the Church of England as identical with the English nation. In this the authors have the great advantage of walking in the old paths. The presumption here made is the presumption of the Reformation statutes, and is distinctly acknowledged by our greatest writer on ecclesiastical polity, Richard Hooker, as in subsequent times by Burke, Arnold, and Stanley. Nor has this presumption of the constitution ever ceased to operate. It is *in viridi observantia* at this moment, as shown by the fact that any one except a Papist—who is excluded by special enactments—can act as churchwarden, and be patron of a benefice: that any Englishman, unless excommunicated by proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts, can claim his place in church and the ministrations of the national clergy; and that the nation as a whole, through its representatives in Parliament, legislates upon all Church affairs. It is assumed also throughout the

Prayer-book, where "the Church and realm" is one entity, containing in itself the Sovereign, the Clergy, the Privy Council and Parliament, the Magistrates, and all orders and degrees of men. The authors must not therefore be impugned as advocating the erection of a new system ; they are advocating the full development of that which has existed from the first in England, and was asserted most distinctly at the formative period of our modern Church history. It is for those who wish to proceed upon some other than the national system to show cause for their novel methods, and to solve what the authors believe to be the hopeless problem of finding some other basis for the national Church.

The authors also claim to have with them the promise of the future. All who frame an ideal of society desire to see common life sanctified by religion. Some, like the Positivists, even desire the establishment of a distinct spiritual power or hierarchy to maintain the religious spirit. Those, therefore, who are convinced that the Christian spirit is capable of regenerating the world, have a right to feel that they are in harmony with human progress in endeavouring to maintain the Church on the basis of its substantial identity with the nation.

It is said, indeed, that this basis, though satisfactory at the time of the Reformation, is now so no longer ; and that the attempt to act upon it is absurd and even impious. The Christian Church, it is said, as a spiritual society, must have its well-defined boundaries ; it cannot admit into its ranks any but those who testify their belief

either by baptism, or by a marked change of life, or by a declaration in word or in writing.

To this it is replied that we are not constructing a new church, but following out the historical development of the Church of England ; that in all essential matters the English nation can much more justly be called "a congregation of faithful men " than it could when those words were applied to it in the sixteenth century : that the genius of Christianity is inclusive and universal, regarding all men, without reference to their special profession, as the sons of a common Father. It is further argued that the Church must embrace human life in its full compass, whereas societies formed on the basis of agreement in doctrine, or recognition of conversion, or acceptance of the Episcopal or other forms of government, can give but a partial expression of Christianity, and are necessarily confined to certain aspects of life : that such societies have found it practically impossible to maintain their strict tests, and are now contented with a simple wish, not belied by inconsistency of life, to join the society ; that, further, each Christian society must be held capable of making its own rules for exceptional cases, that the case of Englishmen repudiating the ideal of life presented by Christianity is an exceptional case ; and that much more violence would be done by attempts to exclude English citizens from the Church (except so far as just laws inflict disabilities upon those who transgress them), than by allowing each man to take part in church affairs according to his ability and his conviction. Moreover,

Christians cannot but recall the apostolic doctrine that the government of the nation is a Divine function, and the ruler a minister of God : and they infer that the blending of all the powers by which human life is governed, not their separation, is the proper effect of the spirit and teaching of the New Testament. This, moreover, far from being a Utopia, or an ideal of past centuries, is a condition to which present circumstances steadily point, since government is no longer absolute and tyrannical as it frequently was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the expression of the life of the community viewed as a great brotherhood : legislation and administration are more and more employed upon social reforms, such as those connected with education, temperance, social purity, the dwellings of the poor, the relations of employed and employers, and all that affects the well-being of the people ; and for all such action the Christian spirit is eminently required, since they are integral parts of the Christian life in its larger aspects as truly as common worship and doctrinal teaching.

It is difficult to keep this view of things steadily before the mind. The reader is requested to make an effort to do this, since it is impossible otherwise to judge rightly of the reforms here proposed. If this idea of the Church of England be not maintained, some other must be substituted for it ; and the burden of creating such other idea lies with the reader. Let him ask himself whether any other idea he can form is satisfactory. Will he say that the Church means the clergy ? No one would admit

this : yet if any one will watch himself or others in their use of terms in arguing on these questions, he will find that in the great majority of instances when he says Church he means Clergy ; and, moreover, that he very frequently takes the conduct of particular clergymen whom he has known, or of the Convocations, especially the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, as justifying assertions about the Church of England. It is not necessary to show the fallacy of such a proceeding, or to point out that the action of the mass of the clergy has frequently been directly contrary to the wishes even of Churchmen in the narrower sense. But it is hardly too much to say that, if men would cease to attribute to the Church that which is the action of the clergy alone, half the obstacles to what the present writers deem a just understanding of the question would be removed.

If we set aside the definite conception that the clergy constitute the Church, what intermediate conception between this and the national idea is possible ? Are the communicants the Church ? There is no list kept of them, nor any definition of what constitutes a communicant. Are the congregations the Church ? Again there is no list of them : and in the present state of opinion it may be easily seen that many who rarely if ever attend the services according to the Act of Uniformity are quite as worthy and as capable of working for the welfare of the general body of Christians as those who do. If we take a wider view, and say that the Church consists of all the baptized, or of all who profess themselves Christians, it is

evident that this so nearly includes the whole commonwealth that no one would seriously erect a test for the purpose of excluding the few exceptions. *De minimis non curat lex*. For practical purposes the Church of England is the English nation; and to assert this is merely to acknowledge what exists.

If this conception of the Church of England be firmly grasped, several consequences will at once be seen to flow from it.

1. It will be impossible to regard the Nonconformist bodies as rivals. They will be seen to be bodies of Church people who desire, by combination for special purposes and on special grounds, to edify their members and do good to all who join them : bodies of persons, moreover, to whom the laws of the Church of England have given a complete liberty of worship and organization. The estimate formed of their special ideas and conduct will vary greatly—they have not been apt to pronounce a uniform judgment upon each other—but the presumption will always be that those who combine to do good are worthy of all sympathy; and the evil contrast of Churchmen and Dissenters, a contrast which has embittered religious and political questions, will cease. There will be no wish on the part of those who make use of the established system of worship to do away with the efforts of independent bodies, either by way of discouragement or of absorption. On the other hand, every facility will be given for the promotion of brotherly relations with their members and ministers.

2. A somewhat different light from that by which it is ordinarily discussed will be shed on the question of Church Establishment. It will no longer be a matter of contention between rival sects, but will be viewed without *a priori* prejudice as a question of what is most conducive to the spiritual interests of the Church or commonwealth. It will not be asked whether one sect or denomination should have privileges : the question will be whether the national and parochial system of Christian work is worth preserving ; and, if so, how the anomalies and abuses existing in it can be remedied ; how it may become a truer representation of the spiritual life of the people, and a channel of good through which, with a general if not universal consent, the mutual charities of Englishmen may flow. The abuses of the system will be fully recognized ; but some better remedy for them must be found than one which would entail the erection and establishment of a great clericalist sect, and the transference to it of the prestige, the edifices, and a large share in the endowments now at the disposal of the nation for its own highest purposes.

3. When the Church system is looked at from the national standpoint, its faults will appear exceedingly grave. Its present shape may be traced back, as regards the position of the clergy and its parochial arrangements, to feudal times ; as regards worship, to the Act of Uniformity of 1662. In the first of these aspects it is a survival of a state of things which in all other spheres of life has passed away ; in the second, of bitter reactionary

exclusiveness. It is impossible not to seek for remedies which flow naturally from our more mature condition, and the more Christian spirit now working in the nation. The prospect which opens to the reformer is vast, and many theories of reform have of late been propounded. But the opinion of those who proceed upon nationalist lines has been steadily settling down upon the following main points :—

(1) That the people of each parish should, without distinction of religious denomination, share with the beneficed clergyman in the administration of the church and parish, which is now under the direction of the clergyman alone—as proposed by the Church Boards Bill of Mr. Albert Grey.

(2) That the penalties should be removed which prevent clergymen from preaching in Nonconformist chapels, and that laymen and Nonconformists should, under proper regulations, be able to preach in churches—as in part proposed by the Occasional Sermons Bill, introduced in 1872 by Mr. Cowper Temple (Lord Mount Temple) and the late Mr. Samuel Morley.

(3) That a more equitable arrangement of parishes and of clerical stipends should be made, a Royal Commission being instituted to prepare for legislation on this subject—as proposed by Mr. Thos. Hughes in 1872.

(4) That the subscription now exacted of the clergy, which results in the needless fettering of truth, should be abolished.

(5) That the Act of Uniformity should be modified in

such a way as to enable the clergy and parishioners to use the Prayer-book more freely, both in the way of adaptation and of omission, to allow, in special cases and under proper sanction, services, other than those prescribed by the Act, to be held in the churches, and to make the recitation of the Athanasian Creed no longer obligatory.

(6) Lastly, that the sale of livings be abolished, and that the parishioners should have a voice, either directly or through representation, in the nomination of their pastors, as in part proposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his Patronage Bills of 1886 and 1887.

It is believed that by these reforms a great deal may be done towards the two great objects of National Church reform, the removal of religious dissensions and the spiritualizing of the life of the nation. It is, of course, impossible that these things should be actually effected by any legislative arrangements ; but it is believed that they would be greatly furthered if through the proposed reforms more just and brotherly relations were established, and a freer scope given for common work, while the aim was held fast of setting the Christian ideal before every citizen, and conducting the public life under its influence.

4. It will be seen that it is impossible that these reforms should be effected otherwise than by the national organs. It is sometimes said that Parliament is neither competent nor willing to legislate on Church questions. This allegation is dealt with in the fifth chapter of this volume ; but it may be at once pointed out that no other

agency is capable of effecting these reforms. The demand that "the Church," as contrasted with the nation and its organs, should reform itself, is unmeaning if the nation is the Church. To make such a demand reasonable, it would be necessary to create the church which was to reform itself (for no such body exists at present), and the first step towards this would be to separate from the rest of the nation those who now accept the system of the Act of Uniformity, and to bind that Act upon them as the fundamental law of their society. Against such a proposal as this, whether under a system of establishment, or as part of the policy of disestablishment, National Church reformers protest, as a perpetuation of the evils which it ought to be our object to remove.

Parliament would find no greater difficulty in reforming the Church system than in dealing with other parts of our polity, if once the nation decided that it should be done ; and a publication like the present constitutes a contribution towards this decision. On the other hand, English reforms proceed tentatively ; and for this reason it is desirable to bring the practical efforts of Church reformers to bear upon a single, but central, point—that of giving power to the laity in the parishes by means of Church Boards or Parochial Councils. If such bodies were instituted, it is believed that they would prove a great help to the formation and expression of opinion, and that all other desirable reforms might be expected to follow.

The chapters in the present volume, though written by different authors, each of whom preserves his individuality,

are designed to serve the cause of National Church Reform as just explained. There will be found some slight divergence in detail, but the general lines of thought and of proposed action are common to them all.

In the first chapter, the Church system is presented as a great national inheritance. Its capacities for serving the highest interests of the nation are set forth, the main principles on which it rests are indicated, and its great resources are enumerated.

In the second, the comparative failure of the system is shown, and an attempt is made to trace the causes of the failure.

In the third it is shown that the proper remedy for this failure is not the process termed Disestablishment, which is viewed as the abandonment of a great inheritance, and the perpetuation of the evils for which a remedy is sought.

The fourth chapter indicates, by an appeal to history, the direction in which a remedy should be sought, showing the difference between the methods of reform indicated by the names Clericalist, Separatist, and Nationalist.

The fifth points out the practical course to be adopted in the advocacy of reform, the scheme for Parochial Councils or Church Boards being recognized as the central and germinal measure.

The sixth chapter shows the importance of National Church reform in connection with social and philanthropic work.

The last chapter estimates the effect of National Church reform on the religious life of the country.

The writers have endeavoured as far as possible to avoid mere controversy. The conception of the Church which they entertain is the sufficient explanation of their opposition to the processes desired by the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Control as applied to the English nation. It will also, it is hoped, be clearly seen that their position is not one of compromise, taken up hastily in the presence of danger; that they have not given up important principles for the sake of worldly expediency, nor, as has been said, been willing to destroy the Church for the sake of the Establishment; but that they are advocating, with long-formed conviction, and on the historic lines of the Church of England, the reforms they consider in themselves desirable for the sake of Christian unity and the progress of national righteousness.

NOTE.—For the various schemes which may be included under the comprehensive but equivocal term “Church Reform,” the reader is referred to the Appendix. He will there find the Church Boards Bill which, as has been explained above, constitutes the chief proposal of the Nationalist Church Reformers, as lately put forth by the National Church Reform Union; the schemes described in this volume by the words “Clericalist” and “Separatist,” as advocated respectively by the English Church Union and the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Control; together with the schemes set forth by the Convocations and by other bodies of more or less authority.

PRELIMINARY STATISTICS.

WITH a view to the better appreciation of the arguments and proposals contained in this volume, it seems desirable that it should be prefaced by a short statistical account of the Resources of the Church of England. The clergy, the places of worship, the endowments, the arrangements by which these are regulated, and the practical working of the parochial system, form the body over which the present debate will be fought out. They do not constitute the Church, but they are the visible embodiment of the system by which the Church fulfils its functions of public worship, teaching, beneficence, and pastoral care. It is best for those who maintain that the English nation is itself to be identified with the Church to speak of this apparatus of ministers and buildings and services as the Church system; or at least, if they apply to it the name of Church, to make it clearly understood that they use the word Church in a narrow and improper manner to designate the Church system. This system must be shortly described.

The number of parish churches is about 14,558, and there are 1,110 chapels of ease—together 15,752 consecrated buildings; besides 31 cathedrals. The number of the beneficed clergy is 13,824; the number of parishes (counting two parishes when held by one incumbent as one), 13,739. The number of curates is 5,795. The working clergy therefore number 19,619. But there is a considerable number of clergymen not engaged in parochial work, but employed in scholastic and secretarial duties, or as deans and canons of cathedrals, or as chaplains or lecturers, or living on their own means and only occasionally officiating.¹ These are supposed to number between

¹ These figures are taken from Lord Selborne's "Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment." They have been worked out with great care by him, and have been verified by means of the Church of England Year Book and other documents.

3000 and 4000. So that the total number of the clergy in England (not reckoning those in Ireland, Scotland, and the Colonies, or the Episcopal clergy of America) is about 23,500.

There are 33 diocesan bishops, and 4 suffragans ; and 31 cathedral churches.

The number of parsonage houses is somewhat smaller than that of the beneficed clergy. There may be 1,200 benefices unprovided with houses; so that we may take the number of parsonages at 12,500.

The incomes of the clergy have never been officially ascertained. A great many estimates have been attempted of them, the most recent and thorough of which is contained in Lord Selborne's "Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment," which concludes as follows :—

"It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the total of £4,810,429 exceeds the utmost annual money value of the whole endowments (exclusive of churches and residence houses) of the Church of England at the present time."

This estimate of £4,810,429 is gained by adding the incomes of the parochial clergy as given in the Clergy List (£4,457,782) to the incomes of the bishops, archdeacons, and cathedral clergy, which are known to be £352,847. But, as Lord Selborne intimates, this estimate is probably excessive. We may, perhaps, make up this amount by adding up the known or probable sources of revenue. It is known from the returns of the Land Commissioners that the tithe paid to the parochial clergy is £2,412,708 a year. The salaries of the bishops and cathedral clergy are £352,847. The glebes have never been calculated (says Lord Selborne, p. 104) at more than £400,000 a year. The additions to parochial incomes made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, together with the benefactions to meet their grants, amount to about one million a year; those of Queen Anne's Bounty to about £200,000; the pew rents may perhaps amount to a quarter of a million; and the income from casual sources, like marriage fees and Easter offerings, to another quarter. Putting this together, we have—

	£
Tithes (say)	2,414,000
Glebes	400,000
Bishops and Cathedral Clergy	352,000
Pew Rents	250,000

	£
From Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with	
Benefactions	934,000
From Queen Anne's Bounty, with Bene-	
factions	200,000
Fees, Easter Offerings, &c.	250,000
	£4,800,000

It must, however, be remembered that the chief part of this income is derived from land, and therefore is at present rapidly diminishing. The tithe commutation which for 1885 (in which year Lord Selborne's calculations of income were made) was, for each £100 of tithe rent-charge, £93 17s. 3½d., is for 1888, £84 2s. 8¾d., a fall of about 10 per cent., which would at once reduce the total by about £240,000. To the total given above must be added the value of the parsonage houses, which exist in the great majority of parishes.

The property of the Church and clergy tends to increase in various ways. First, by the erection of fresh churches and parsonages by voluntary contributions; secondly, by the judicious management of the estates by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who have freed the lands from the wasteful system of beneficial leases and leases on lives; thirdly, by fresh endowments made solely by voluntary gift; fourthly, by grants made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty, partly as direct endowments, partly to meet offers of money for endowments or the stipends of curates. From this fourth source alone a calculation based on the returns given in the Year Book of the Church of England for 1887,¹ shows that the endowments for benefices, curates' stipends, and the erection of parsonages, have increased in the last ten years by about the sum of £318,100 a year. Returns in the same volume,² show that the sums contributed in 1885 for church building and restoration, endowments, parsonage houses, and burial grounds, amounted to £1,733,900; while for the twenty-five years from 1860 to 1884 the contributions for these purposes amounted to about £38,000,000, or rather more than one million and a half a year. It is shown, moreover,³ that the voluntary contributions made in the year 1885 alone, for Church work of various kinds, including missions at home and abroad, theological

¹ Pp. 493-9. ² P. 514 and pp. xvi.-xvii. ³ "Year Book," p. xxiv.

colleges, the support of extra clergy, education, the poor, amounted to more than five millions. These statistics prove that voluntary efforts have not been destroyed by endowments. They also show the attachment felt to the Church system as a function of the nation. It cannot be assumed that similar efforts would be forthcoming were a new body set up separate from the nation.

The questions relating to tithes are much before the public, and it may be as well to give the latest return of the Tithes Commissioners, as it is given in the Church of England Year Book for 1887—

	£	s.	d.
Total Rent-charge payable to Clerical Appropria-			
tors or Lessees... ..	678,987	1	1½
Parochial Incumbents	2,412,708	9	11½
	3,091,695	11	1½
Lay Impropriators	£766,233	0	6½
Schools, Colleges, &c.	196,056	15	0½
	962,289	15	7½
	£4,053,985	6	9

The sums appropriated by clerical lessees are, we believe, wholly accounted for in our estimate of income, either under the head of incomes of Bishops and Cathedral Clergy, or under that of the Ecclesiastical Commission.

The proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners being little understood, it seems well to add the account of them given by their secretary, Sir George Pringle, in a letter to *The Times* of March 10, 1887, under the heading of "The Ecclesiastical Commissioners."

SIR,—The 39th report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners has been laid before Parliament by command of Her Majesty, but it may be some days before a summary of its contents can be placed before the public in the concise form usually furnished by you for your readers.

Meanwhile the publication of the correspondence relative to the Church House, which you evidently regard as so important, proceeds in the absence of a full knowledge of certain financial facts and statements to which it would seem desirable to afford publicity.

With that object I subjoin the following extracts from the Commissioners' report, in which they state :—

“ The Commissioners think it right to point out that with the expiration of the current year the time will have arrived when it will be no longer expedient, nor indeed safe, to place further annual charges on the Common Fund. Even in the past year, notwithstanding that beneficial leases have expired so as to bring in £16,000 a year from land and tithe rent-charges, the total income of the Board from sources of that nature is smaller than it was for the preceding year.

“ There is now the certainty of further reduction in the tithe averages which must continue for some years, and the improbability of there being in the near future any improvement in the income derived from agricultural land. These considerations will compel the Commissioners to terminate with the present year the method hitherto adopted of augmenting benefices by charging the Common Fund with permanent annual grants, and to limit their grants in the future to sums of capital.

“ For the present year the Commissioners will be prepared to make grants to the value of £12,500 per annum, being equivalent to a capital sum of £375,000. This appropriation will enable the Commissioners to deal with the still unconsidered local claims.

“ The distribution will be as follows :—

“ 1. In meeting benefactions offered in favour of benefices, either by annual grants in augmentation of the incomes, or by grants towards providing and improving parsonage-houses, to the extent of, say, £50,000 in capital value.

“ 2. In endowing, to the extent of £1,600 per annum in perpetuity, churches to which districts have been legally assigned since the date of the census of 1881, containing in each case a population of 4,000 persons at the date of such assignment.

“ 3. In meeting the unconsidered local claims on estates vested in the Commissioners, including those on estates formerly belonging to the Chapters of St. Paul, London, and Lichfield, and the Bishoprics of St. David's, Llandaff, and Bangor.

“ The following is a brief summary of the work accomplished by the Commissioners in the augmentation and endowment of benefices during a period of 46 years from 1840 (when the Common Fund was first created) to the 31st of October last :—

"The total number of benefices which have been augmented and endowed by the Commissioners is upwards of 5,400.

"The grants made by the Commissioners in the augmentation and endowment of these benefices—consisting partly of annual payments charged upon the Common Fund, partly of capital sums expended in the provision or improvement of parsonage-houses, or in the purchase of property, and partly of lands, tithes, &c., annexed to the benefices—amount to about £754,000 per annum in perpetuity, or in capital value to a sum of about £22,624,000.

"The benefactions by private donors, consisting of stock, cash, land, tithes, and other property, received by or conveyed to the Commissioners or to the incumbents of benefices, chiefly to meet grants made by the Commissioners, amount to about £4,620,000, and are equivalent to a permanent increase in the endowments of benefices of about £154,000 per annum. There is, moreover, a sum of about £26,000 per annum contributed by benefactors to meet the Commissioners' grants for curates in mining districts.

"The total increase in the incomes of benefices from the augmentations and endowments made by the Commissioners, or through their instrumentality, amounts, therefore, up to the 31st of October, 1886, to about £934,000 per annum, and may be taken to represent the income which would be derived from a capital sum of about £28,024,000."

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

GEORGE PRINGLE.

10, Whitehall Place, March 8, 1887.

The buildings in which the worship of the Church is carried on are a possession of great importance. Not only are the cathedrals of priceless value and closely connected with English history, but the same may be said of many of the parish churches. They are full of reverend associations to many who never worship in them, as well as being closely connected with the religious life. This cannot be better expressed than in the words of Mr. Edward White, delivered from the chair of the Congregational Union in February, 1886 :—

"Great and noble buildings are everywhere formidable powers, and the sacred edifices of the Church exert an almost irresistible attraction upon the imagination of their frequenters. These ancient

cathedral towers, rising in the midst of so many fertile counties, and consecrating from the centre so many an encircling panorama of forest and fruitful field and champaign territory—these minsters, and abbeys, and college chantries—these village temples, whether, as sometimes, new-built in all the magnificence of fretted stone and gilded pinnacle and storied glass, or, as more often, grey with the hoar of ages, and uplifting to heaven spires that have withstood the tempests of centuries—are powers of subtlest mastery over all minds that are susceptible of tender impressions and noble dreams of beauty and mystery. And not the eye alone feels the restless enchantment. In the ear of a people naturally musical, swells from north to south of England a gale of divinest harmony from the ten thousand organs of cathedral choirs, college foundations, and parish churches; accompanying the voices of white-robed choristers, or the chosen singers of the congregation, to words which stir all hearts, as they oftentimes recall the adorations and re-echo the prayers of ancient Christendom.”

Mr. White proceeds to express his conviction that the Church system is a genuine embodiment of the Protestant Christianity of England. “She honours no relics, worships no angels, saints, or martyrs; arrogates no infallibility; and openly declares, in the preface of the Prayer-book, that her system admits of further and progressive reformation. This is not semi-Romanism. It is Protestantism—and the English people know it, and intend to preserve it. It is a religious system which, with all its faults, has, in conjunction with the labours of our persecuted predecessors, conferred signal benefits upon this nation, raising the intellect of England to a majestic strength unknown in any other country of the European continent. In all that is noblest and best, independent of State control, and reformed from the mediæval sacerdotalism, in this great Institution, we desire to have a share, as in all its material property we hold a national partnership.”

Mr. White goes on to say that no one is quite satisfied with the present sectional societies, and that all desire to “return to the ecclesiastical life of the first two centuries, in which free and powerful local churches embraced all Christian believers.”

The buildings which form the centre of the system thus eloquently described constitute a stronghold in every parish; and the possession of them implies a trust, not for the objects of a denomination, nor

even those of the separate parishes, but for those of the nation. The various feelings, not only of religion, but also of social and family affection, civic life, patriotism, and art which cluster round them, have greatly increased during the last fifty years, and will go on increasing with the increase of culture. The churches have been cared for and restored by the aid of the country generally, and have the guarantee of public law for their security and maintenance.

The services held in the churches are regulated by the national law; the Prayer-book itself forms part of an Act of Parliament—that of 13 and 14 Charles II. c. 4. It is gathered from many sources, some of them belonging to the earliest Christian ages: the compilation of it in its present form has been mainly the work of clergymen; but its sanction and enforcement rest wholly in the national authority. Its history is thus summed up in an article on “Convocation, Parliament, and the Prayer-book” in *The Edinburgh Review* for October, 1874:—

“There have been since the beginning of the Reformation six editions, so to call them, of the Book of Common Prayer, of which the account is as follows: 1. The Primer and Services of King Henry VIII.’s time were prepared and put forth by the king alone. 2. The first Prayer-book of Edward VI. (1548) was prepared by a Commission, and set forth by Act of Parliament,¹ but may possibly have had some sanction from Convocation. 3. The second Prayer-book of Edward VI. was prepared by a commission, and set forth by Act of Parliament, and not submitted to Convocation. 4. The Prayer-book of Elizabeth was prepared by a commission and set forth by Act of Parliament, against the protest of Convocation and the Bishops. 5. The Prayer-book of James was prepared by a commission, and set forth by Royal Decree alone. 6. The Prayer-book of the Restoration was prepared by a commission and by Convocation, and enforced by Act of Parliament.”

Even in the last case, though the clergy in Convocation were desired to prepare the book, they did not attempt to legislate by canons for its use. They acted rather as a body of experts than as a branch of the Legislature. The Convocations are bodies of clergy adjoined to the Parliament, and may be consulted or not

¹ This was stated wrongly in the article, probably from a clerical error, as Royal Authority.

as the Government thinks expedient. The only legislature of the Church is Parliament.

The law by which the Church system is enforced is admittedly archaic and cumbrous. The old canon law of the Western Church has never been repealed; but it is held that only those parts of it are binding which have by long custom acquired the force of law in England. By the great Statute of Henry VIII. entitled "The submission of the Clergy and Restraint of Appeals" (25 Henry VIII. c. 19), a commission was established for the purpose of reviewing the canon law and the constitutions established by the English Archbishops; and in Edward the VI.'s reign a similar commission framed the book called "*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*," which, however, never passed into law. The canons framed by Convocation in 1604, to a certain extent covered the same ground, but the precise nature of their authority has never been decided. Wherever Parliament has spoken, the purely ecclesiastical legislation is set aside. Thus the law of the Church system consists partly of definite statutes, partly of presumptions derived from the old canon law which have gained validity through long prescription.

The judicature to which causes relating to public worship and clergy discipline are amenable has been more fully brought under the control of the national organs. Each bishop has his court; but these local courts have little to do. All important matters are brought before the judge appointed in common by the two archbishops and approved by the Crown, according to the arrangements made by the Church Discipline Act of 1841, and the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. From him the appeal lies to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the successor of the court of delegates instituted at the Reformation as the instrument of the royal and national supremacy over the clerical system.

Of the appointment of beneficed clergy, the following account is given by Lord Selborne: "Of the whole number of parishes, 1,050 are in royal, 4,257 in ecclesiastical, and 8,023 in lay patronage. Of 300 the patronage is divided: as to 230, between the Crown and ecclesiastical patrons; as to 25, between the Crown and lay patrons; as to 45, between lay patrons and ecclesiastical."¹ The clergy are

¹ "Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment," p. 97. Lord Selborne adds that 109 parishes which are not accounted

reckoned as having a freehold in their benefices, which they hold by an indefeasible tenure so long as they perform certain specified duties. In this their position differs from that of other professions. They are not officials holding office during good behaviour, but possessors of an estate.

The two most prominent features in the Church system are those of Episcopal superintendence and of the parochial organization. The bishop had originally an almost absolute power over the clergy and system of worship; the clergy were, indeed, only his feudal liegemen. This is recalled in the ceremony of institution, in which the bishop commits power to the clergyman over the parish to which he is appointed. But, as the modern baron or freeholder is no longer subject to the arbitrary power of a feudal superior, so the parochial clergy hold their benefices independent of the bishop, who thus becomes only the guardian and enforcer of the law. He still has, however, a very important moral power, and his position enables him to exert a stimulating influence upon the energy of the clergy and laity of the diocese. It is an ecclesiastical theory that "the diocese, not the parish, is the unit of organization." But practically it is in their own parishes that the interests of men are most engaged and their energies called forth.

The parochial organization is that by which the Church system really works upon the nation and shows its true character. It is not a congregational system, working upon those only who attend the services; nor is it concerned only with Christian worship and its adjuncts. A certain territory is assigned to a clergyman, and his duty is to foster the Christian life among all its inhabitants. "A parochial minister¹ is bound to do all he can for the spiritual good of the whole parochial community. He has to deal with all who live within the bounds of the parish. He must become acquainted with them in their homes and mix in their society, must take an

for are probably newly formed, and in the gift of the rectors of the mother parishes.

¹ From Pamphlet on "Disestablishment and Church Reform," by Hon. and Rev. W. H. Fremantle, p. 20 (National Church Reform Union, Manchester, 1885). See also remarks in Lord Selborne's "Defence of the Church of England," pp. 244 to 250; and instances of parish work in the Official Year Book for 1887, p. 69.

interest in their common pursuits, must encourage schemes for their moral, intellectual, and social amelioration, and this without reference to the question whether they attend his services or not. As a token of this more general influence, a clergyman is bound to reside in the midst of his people." It should be added that such a system depends for its efficacy not merely on what the clergyman does, but upon what he stimulates others to do. He is to stir up Christian effort, to foster the Christian life throughout the parish.

It is evident that the existence of this system depends upon the national commission given to the parochial clergy. The parish is a section of the nation ; and the peculiar strength of the clergyman's position comes from the fact that he feels that he has the call of the community as a whole, and will be recognized as the minister of all. The parochial pastor, if of a wise and generous disposition, will seldom fail of the welcome and the influence thus prepared for him amongst his parishioners without distinction of denomination.

We have thus a vast system, capable by its wealth, the antiquity of its buildings, its associations, its organization, of ministering powerfully to the national well-being ; we observe that it is entirely and in all its parts subject to the national control ; that, without the national sanction its peculiar powers would fail, but that with that sanction it is able to touch and quicken every part of the national life. The question which is before the country is whether there are sufficient reasons for withdrawing this sanction and control (thus abandoning the parochial in favour of the congregational system) and making some fresh distribution of the resources ; or, if there is no sufficient reason for this, then what means can be adopted to make the Church system more efficacious for the purposes for which it exists.

CHAPTER I.

THE RESOURCES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

"SHOULD the Church of England be Reformed?" This is a question which is being more and more asked, and to which the nation will have to give an answer before long. A right answer cannot be expected, unless there is first a right understanding of the conditions of the question.

Amongst these conditions, the first place must be given to the possibilities of the case. "What *can* be done with this Church?" The reply is, that there are three—and only three—courses open: these are, to leave this Church as it is; to Disestablish it; or to Reform it.

The impossibility of the first of these is daily becoming clearer. The constitution of the country was some time ago made democratic in theory, and it is rapidly becoming more and more so in fact, as the masses of the people are realizing their power, and learning to exercise it. Thus gradually—and yet by rapid steps—every part of the constitution is being made to conform to the new requirements; and it is unreasonable to suppose that the Church, —which, in its relationship to the constitution, has re-

mained substantially the same for three centuries,—can much longer escape this democratic handling. The Democracy,—like a new master overhauling an old concern,—is certain soon to give its attention to this branch of it ; and is also certain, when it does so, to insist that either the Church shall be brought into harmony with the other parts of the constitution, or shall cease to be connected with the national organization. A church in which the nation has so small a share, cannot much longer remain a National Church. If, therefore, we are not prepared for Disestablishment—that is, for the formation of a vast clericalist corporation—the only practical course is that of reform.

The first thing needed is an understanding of the meaning of Disestablishment, and of the character of the resources of the National Church. Disestablishment means the abandonment by the nation of all control over this Church. After Disestablishment there would probably remain a church calling itself “The Church of England” ; but there could no longer be any National Church, or any national participation in the resources of such a church. As a condition of Disestablishment, the nation might deprive this Church of some of its resources ; but there are others—and these are by far the most important—which it could not touch at all, yet with which it would have no organic connection. Therefore it is necessary to consider what these resources are now ; also which would be kept, and which lost, by such a change.

The resources may be divided into the material, the organic, and the spiritual; as the resources of every human being may be divided into his sustenance, his organism, and his moving spirit.

I. Beginning at the bottom, we come first to the material resources, of which the two principal are the Revenues and the Buildings.

The expression, "The Revenues of the Church of England," is somewhat misleading; for this Church, considered as a single institution, has no revenues. If any one were to bequeath any property now "to the Church of England," no one would know what to do with it, or to whom it should be given. There is no body to which the description can be said to apply; and even the description itself has no proper legal meaning. So far as property is concerned, the law knows nothing about any "Church of England," but only about a multitude of churches *in* England; each one of which possesses its own property, held by its parson (*persona*) or beneficed clergyman.

But, for the sake of simplicity, it may be well to consider this property as if it belonged to one institution; and in doing so, we have first to look at its origin.

If we add together the incomes of all the separate churches and ecclesiastical bodies in England, we find that by far the largest part of this total is derived from tithes or glebes—that is, from land.

In neither case is anything taken away from the nation. The possession of glebe lands is no more a loss to the

nation than is the landlord's interest in his estates ; and the tithe is a rent-charge really paid by landlords, who have acquired their property subject to this deduction. If a law was passed to remit all tithes, the result would simply be to make a present of so much to the landlords. Thus the result is, that by far the largest part of the income of the Church of England costs no man a penny ; whilst all men, as members of the nation, share in the control of it. The property of the Church of England is national property in that it is controlled by the nation, but not in that it comes out of the pocket of the nation.

We need not enter into a defence of endowments. They act like a mill-pond, which so rectifies the variations of supply, that the mill-wheel can be kept steadily running through times of drought, as well as through times of rain. Nor can it be said that these endowments are excessive. Their revenues are a resource rescued by past generations from selfish and personal expenditure ; and now at the service of the nation, for lofty ends, and for the general good. Original intention, and continuous usage, and present advantage, all concur in the devotion of these resources to religious purposes.

But the nation would act wisely for its own interests if it properly overhauled its administration. More work of the sort for which these resources are intended, needs doing ; and more might be got out of the present resources if they were properly distributed. The principle of such an exercise of control has already been accepted in the readjustment of episcopal and capitular revenues, and in

the operations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The time seems to have come for this principle to be carried out much more widely and deeply. The nation has a right to see that the most is got out of this property; and it has also a right to make such alterations as are necessary to effect this object.

Without aiming at any sort of depressing uniformity, it is quite plain that large readjustments are required by every principle of fairness and common sense. The rich must be made to help the poor; and there must be many diversions from places in which the revenues are more than the work, to those in which they are less. It seems also that enough might be obtained—by skilful management—to constitute an Insurance Fund: so that the clergy might be relieved from harassing anxieties; and a scheme for retirement arranged—and their families be provided for in case of death—without impoverishing the successor. It is not necessary here to elaborate any machinery to produce these results: the machinery will soon be forthcoming when the nation has made up its mind to obtain the results. The first necessity is the conviction that the nation will gain far more by using—under its own control—the revenues of the Church for the purposes of religion, than by handing over a portion of them to some private body, and turning the rest in other directions.

This treatment of revenues involves another of the material resources which the nation possesses through its National Church. All the buildings of that Church are

freely open to the nation. Every person has now a right to enter some parish church ; and every parishioner to claim a seat, and to participate in what is going on there. Few of these buildings have been erected—and none are now kept up—by the nation. Though a man may build a church entirely out of his own money, as soon as it comes into the possession of the Church of England, the nation has full rights over it ; and the donor can exercise no more control than any other person who may be elected as an officer ; and though the church may be kept up entirely by the gifts of the congregation, every parishioner retains his rights over it. This is the true theory of a National Church ; which insists that every one shall have some place of worship, which cannot be closed against him.

Only with a National Church is such a theory possible ; for the buildings of all the churches which are called “ Voluntary ” cannot but be regarded as private possessions. They must be vested in some body of trustees ; or in some other organization, which must have the responsibility of maintaining them, under specified conditions. These conditions may—and do—include the power of refusing admission to all who will not conform to what may be required : and certainly the members of the nation cannot, as such, claim the right of entering these buildings. They may be welcomed into them by courtesy—but so far as right is concerned, they can no more demand admission to them than they can to the clubs of Pall Mall,

Happily there is another course open to us than that of parting with our national right in these churches ; and this is, to make a better use of them. By Disestablishment, we should shut a door against our children which has been kept open by our forefathers through all the generations from the beginning of our national life. Even if we ourselves may not care to enter through it, the time may come when our children would have liked to do so ; and when they will cry out against us, because by our hands it has been for ever barred against them. Institutions are like entailed estates ; of which no individual holder should part with any portion to the prejudice of those who may come after.

By parting with its rights over the Church Buildings, the nation would lose much of the sense of elevation. These Spires, which turn mere hamlets into villages, and round which so much of rural life centres ; these town Churches, which are, amidst the ceaseless whirl, almost the sole refuges for quietness ; these Cathedrals, which bind us to most of what is best in the past, and teach us so impressively our continuity—all these have played, and still play, a great part in the complex drama of our national history. If these were omitted, that drama would lose much of its meaning, and our national character much of its dignity. These are times in which such influences can least be spared.

Instead of giving up all national claim to the use of the buildings of the Church of England, the nation would act more wisely by first trying to work its claim so as to turn

them to better and fuller use. Of course on such terms these buildings must continue to be primarily used for the religious purposes of the Church, but there seems no reason why these purposes should not be considerably extended. Churches may well be something more than mere prayer-houses, without any derogation from their primary purpose. Indeed that purpose can only be the religious welfare of the community ; and this may fairly include those civilizing and elevating influences which are essential to a religion like Christianity. All these influences should find in the organization of the Church their machinery, and in the buildings of the Church their home—so that every parish church should be a centre for social, and educational, and recreational activities, as well as for religious exercises. Thus the Church would become Catholic in the true sense of the word, by bringing all that is best in life within the scope of religion. The machinery is all ready to our hand ; and surely it would be better to make this use of it than to break it up.

II. But it is time to turn to the organic resources which the nation possesses in the National Church. Amongst the chief is the episcopal and parochial form of administration. The country is parcelled out into districts, over each one of which is placed a head, whose duty it is to keep in full efficiency the whole Church system within that district. This system would be seriously impaired were the national mandate withdrawn. For in that case bishops would be congre-

gational instead of territorial: bound only to attend to the communities of the adherents of their Church; and having no duty—and not even any right, except as simple citizens—to go beyond these limits. At present bishops are recognized, even by the opponents of the Church, as public men, standing in an acknowledged relationship to the whole community, and are so enabled to associate the influences of religion with the affairs of daily life. Bishops in this country are in a position which no head of any more limited community finds it possible to reach; and this is advantageous, on the whole, both to the nation and to religion. For if religion is shut away in private societies, public life loses much of that upon which it depends for its sweetness and goodness; and religion itself also loses much of its reality and manliness. Without religion, public life becomes debased: without the interaction of public life religion tends to become narrow and superstitious. The episcopacy of a National Church helps to keep up this beneficent alliance of religion and public life.

It has also an advantage in the varied character of those who are appointed bishops. In all churches which are not national, the choice of the heads really rests with the clergy. All sorts of schemes may be adopted for securing lay co-operation, but none of them do, or can, succeed in any satisfactory degree; because in this, as in everything else, amateurs cannot be a match for professionals. The laymen who would take a part, would not really represent the lay mind of the community, and

would often be more clerical than the clergy themselves. And the clergy can seldom be trusted to claim the best man, because differences, about which the mass of the laity care comparatively little, assume in their minds the importance of first principles. So a "Low Church" diocese could not bring its mind to choose a "High Church" bishop, however eminently suitable; and *vice versa*. Hence Self-governing churches become stereotyped and narrow; whereas the National Church retains far greater variety and vitality, because, as the government of the State changes, a change is given to the character of those who are placed at the head of the Church.

Now the nation possesses the power—through the chief of the Government which it appoints—of choosing these heads of the Church system. There can be no impiety in this, since the choice is limited to those who are presumably fit; and even if the choice is made by one who does not believe in the religion of the Church, he must exercise the power with the responsibilities imposed by his position, and by processes similar to those which he employs in other matters of which he has no personal knowledge. The nation gains the advantage of possessing in its National Church by far the most liberal and varied religious organization in the world. Whilst expressing its fundamental beliefs with most definiteness and frequency, it gives most room for varieties of thought and differences of view. Hence the Church of England is the natural home for all those who do not care to identify themselves with any sectarian

peculiarities or narrownesses ; and these are quickly becoming the majority of the nation—for interest is rapidly dying out in those differences which so agitated our forefathers that on account of them they split into sects and went to war. Happily opinions are not necessarily true because men are ready to suffer and die for them ; and we are coming to see that much of the sect-making of the past generations arose from a defective sense of proportion. Hence there is a growing desire for unity ; and a growing admiration for that broad and human conception of Christianity which is best found in a National Church. At such a time it would be madness for the nation to abolish that system by which this conception has mainly been preserved, and so to close its own best way of retreat from those sectarian divisions of which it is growing so weary.

Another organic resource of the National Church is to be found in that territorial subdivision which is called the Parochial System. As the whole country is divided into more than thirty districts, over each of which is placed a bishop, so these are again subdivided ; with the result that the whole country is marked out into between fourteen and fifteen thousand parishes, over each of which is placed a clergyman. The theory of such an arrangement is that the particular clergyman is responsible for every one in his parish ; not that his services may be forced upon any, but that they must be given to all who wish for them. The consequence is, that there is not a single habitation in the whole realm of England—not the

poorest cottage on the wildest moor or the most secluded shore, in the most crowded alley or most distant valley—the dwellers in which have not some church which they can rightly call their own, and some minister whose services they can rightly claim. Another result is that—knowing that there is laid upon them some sort of responsibility for all their parishioners—most parochial ministers feel bound to persist in missionary efforts to spread around them the influences of religion; and thus these influences are pressed upon those who would not otherwise give them any attention.

A parochial system cannot possibly be worked except by a National Church; for the State alone can confer the necessary rights, and insist upon the corresponding responsibilities. Were the national mandate withdrawn, the members of the new body to be created would be bound to each other only by contract; having no duties towards the community at large, and only such as have been agreed upon towards their own adherents. Nothing could compel such a Church to admit all, or to be at the service of all. Such Churches must depend upon the law of supply and demand; and religion is just one of those things to which this law does not apply. Quite the opposite principle is, indeed, the only one applicable; for religion should be supplied most to those who demand it least, and most of all to those who do not demand it at all.

If religion is the practical reality that Christianity claims to be, then it must be of the utmost national impor-

tance that its influence should be brought to bear as widely as possible, upon every member of the nation. The nation has thus a responsibility in this matter, which it cannot discharge by merely trusting to chance. This kind of responsibility is being more and more recognized in all other directions. Education was once left to take care of itself; but now in all its branches it is attended to by the State: many laws have of late years been passed for the regulation of labour, and the promotion of health—both of which had formerly to rely on mere supply and demand—and the number is constantly increasing of those objects which are acknowledged to require the care of the nation as a whole. There is nothing which forbids us to include amongst these objects the promotion of religion, which should be the inspiring motive and guiding principle of all reforms. The responsibility of religion should be accepted by every nation with any high idea of its own duty and destiny.

This responsibility can only be discharged through the mechanism of a National Church; for only thus can religion blend freely with public life. Voluntaryism cannot do the special work of such an institution, though it may do good work alongside it. At present the nation has the benefit of both systems; but Disestablishment would leave only one, and that the least efficient. We freely admit, indeed, that there are weak points in the working of the Church system; but there are none which cannot be easily set right if once the nation is in earnest in demanding Church Reform.

The conclusion seems to be that the nation has a duty to perform for the sake of its own welfare ; and that it possesses in the parochial system of the National Church the only instrument by which this duty can be performed. Therefore, instead of flinging away this resource, which has been handed down from past generations, it should rather try to make it more effective. The theory of the parochial system—by which every parishioner has rights over his parish church and its minister—should be made more of a fact ; by giving to all greater opportunities of sharing in religious exercises and activities ; and by adapting these exercises to the necessities of all, and extending these activities to the lives of all. The people must be made partners in the energies of the Church, as well as participators in its benefits.

The Church of England possesses another advantage in the method of appointing its ministers ; for in harmony with that principle of the golden mean between extremes which is its general characteristic, it avoids the evil of election by congregations, as well as that of selection by church assemblies. The variety in the sources of nomination gives a needed variety to the character of the ministers ; and the security of position gives a needed independence. The chief change called for seems to be that the power of appointment should not be permitted to be sold as a right, but should only be exercised as a trust. Also that parishioners should have some voice in—or veto over—such appointments ; and that simple means should be arranged for removing ministers who are incapable or unfit.

III. Coming, lastly, to the spiritual resources which the nation receives through its National Church, the Prayer-book must first be mentioned. We need hardly, at the present day, notice the objections once urged against the existence of a fixed form of prayer. A congregation is more likely to gain spiritual nourishment from the distilled experience of many generations than from the oft-repeated feelings of any single person. And in worship we require not only encouragement, but also protection: protection against individual whims, temporary fancies, and party prejudices. Such protection is afforded by a book from which time has eliminated what is partial and transient; and in which it has accumulated what is universal and eternal.

In worship we must not only be led to express what we already feel, but we must also be led to feel what we should. Our souls ought to be moved as well as relieved; and for this reason our minds need to be taken over the whole area of primary human wants. Who that follows the Litany with attention can fail to learn that the truest cure for our own sorrows is to pray for those of others? Who that joins heartily in the Communion can fail to feel that the best antidote against individual degradation is to be found in the heights of universal redemption?

From the evils of individual whims, tasteless expressions, and narrow sympathies, the Prayer-book of the Church of England is an admirable protection. It is not the product of any particular time—for it contains compositions varying in date by about a thousand years;

nor of any particular place—for whilst we must go for its first rudiments to that Ephesus where St. John spent the latter part of his life, it received additions not only from the Gallican and Roman churches, but also from the Protestant communities of Germany and Switzerland, as well as from many leading minds of our own country. The result is that, whilst it covers the whole field of Christianity, it is free from those accretions which are so liable to fasten themselves upon religious forms—like barnacles upon a ship, stopping its progress.

The Prayer-book of the Church of England has avoided extremes: for it is complete without being excessive; sensible without being irreverent; definite without being dictatorial. It should, indeed, be relieved from repetitions which have accumulated through the throwing together of services originally distinct; and from declarations originally framed to meet necessities which have now passed away: whilst forms of service might be added for special modern wants. In this book the nation possesses a very valuable resource; for it is even now the most effective instrument of national worship, and almost a complete expression of national needs.

The Church of England repeats the fundamentals of its belief in the simplest possible language, at every service, so that every person can understand upon what foundations it rests. Churches exist to teach facts, as well as to rouse feelings, and so they are bound to require from their ministers fitness for both functions;

especially when these feelings greatly depend upon these facts.

The national recognition of this Book is of great importance ; not only as commending it to the people, but also for the maintenance of the Christian largeness of its teaching. Were this recognition removed, the care of this Book would come into the hands of a private society ; which could omit, or add, what it pleased. This Book, like our Constitution and Language, has grown out of our national life, and has struck its roots deep in the soil. To transplant it now might not kill it, but it would diminish its vitality and alter its character ; for its health would certainly suffer by a removal from the free national air into the confinement of a sectarian hot-house. The nation, at any rate, has nothing to gain—and has much to lose—by such a change.

In reference to creeds, it must be remembered, that whilst the National Church is the most definite in the statements of its own beliefs, it is also the most liberal in its requirements from others. No profession of any sort can be demanded from any who wish to join in the services of the Church, nor can those be prevented from attending who do not accept its beliefs. The Church of England is an offering, not a testing, church ; it is like a public fountain of which all may freely drink, each having to bear his own responsibility for taking or refusing. Instead of having those conditions of membership which are essential to all non-national societies, the Church of England is so free that no one can say what constitutes membership of

it, or even whether the expression has any meaning. The law—to which appeal has always to be made in the last resort—does not assign any such meaning; nor does it allow any restrictions to be placed upon participation in the benefits of the Church.

There is one other resource of which all mention should not be omitted; and that is that in its National Church the nation possesses both a necessary security for political freedom, and a useful instrument for social improvement.

It is easy to talk about separating religion from politics, but it is impossible to perform the feat. We cannot put a separation between the motor and the thing moved; and we cannot get away from the fact that religion is always, and everywhere, the most powerful influence acting upon politics. What can be understood about the East, without considering Mohammedanism; or about Russia, without the Greek Church; or about Germany, without Protestantism; or about France, without Clericalism; or Ireland, without Romanism; or Scotland, without Presbyterianism; or Wales, without Methodism? What can we make of History, if we leave religion out of account? Nothing but a despairing puzzle: a body without bones; a secret code of which the key has been lost. Religion is stronger than race, or language, or geography: politicians are its puppets, and armies its ministers; it can join what man has put asunder, and put asunder what man has joined. No statesman has had such a political effect upon Germany, as Luther; or

upon Spain, as Loyola ; or upon England, as Cranmer ; or upon Scotland, as Knox. No event has so much influenced the political destiny of France, as the massacre of St. Bartholomew ; or of Italy, as the presence of the Popes ; or of Scotland, as the Solemn League and Covenant ; or of the whole East of Europe, as the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. The course of history is determined by a few events, as the track of a ship by the setting of the rudder ; and these events are determined by men's strongest feelings, which nearly always hinge upon religion. As religion, when separated from politics, becomes superstitious ; so politics, when separated from religion, become degraded. If religion and politics are not in union, before long they will be at enmity ; and, in the struggle, it is not politics which will get the upper hand : for though politics can pass laws, religion can, if it chooses, mostly laugh at them.

A nation with true self-respect must therefore protect itself against being thus ruled by a religious organization which does not represent its highest convictions—and it can only secure this protection by means of a National Church. What religion can do when removed from the influence of the State, is suggested by the part in politics which Roman Catholicism now plays in Ireland. To guard against this danger was the meaning of the English Reformation—which was political rather than religious ; its design being to protect the State, as much as to purify the Church. The nation would be foolish to pull down the banks, which were put up by past generations to keep

out the sea—when lashed by storms. The command to render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, was given to correct the tendency to yield too little to the State, not too much.

Such a connection between the State and the Church is alike honourable to both : to the State, because it obtains the safety of being able to protect itself ; and to the Church, because it receives the use of the best organization which the nation has been able to produce. No outward organization can be formed which will absolutely correspond with the invisible Church—consisting of none but the faithful and the good ;—and all attempts at such correspondence are miserable failures ; fastening on opinion rather than conduct, and excluding many whom Christ would include, whilst they include many whom He would exclude.

Nor does such a connection imply any injustice to other religious bodies. A National Church is not necessarily placed in a superior, but only in a different, position ; being the instrument for performing functions the responsibility for which is undertaken by no other organization.

It must not be forgotten that, whilst the nation retains the possession of this instrument, the State is kept in living association with that influence which is most powerful both in reforming the social condition of the people, and in elevating their political tone. The ideal to be arrived at by every State is, that its people shall do of their own accord that which the best laws would try to make them do ; and religion must be

depended upon as the chief means for all approaches to this ideal. Such approaches must be chiefly made through laws ; and all laws must find their ultimate sanction in religion. The only other possible basis is selfishness ; and democracies can least of all afford to rest upon such a foundation. Democracy must find in Christianity the only influence which can keep it alive and healthy.

Hence in these days, when the constitution is steadily becoming more democratic, the nation can ill afford to part with the resources which it now possesses in its National Church : and it would act much more wisely by utilizing and developing these resources ; so that the Church may be made as national in reality as it already is in theory and name. Some suggestions for bringing about such a result will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMPARATIVE FAILURE OF THE CHURCH SYSTEM.

THE National Church, as we have seen, is that organization or function of the life of the Christian Commonwealth which exists for the purpose of imparting the Christian religion to all members of the nation. In a word, *the spiritualization of English national life* in all its parts is the object of a National Church.

How far has that object been accomplished? That is evidently the next question to consider.

In the present chapter, we propose to detail as briefly and as concisely as possible the points of failure, real or alleged, in the working of the Church organization. Such an inquiry will necessarily furnish a plea for either abolition or reform. The first alternative we may leave to a future part of this volume. Reform is, in our view, the only practicable policy. All old institutions are liable to decay. God help them all alike—Parliament, the Family, the State—if they are to be abolished summarily by popular vote if they do not work as effectually as they might. All history is but the record of imperfectly realized ideas. The history of the Christian Church is

no exception to the rule. A full recognition, however, of defects is a necessary preliminary to all reform.

It will be convenient to detail the defects in English Church organization under the six following heads :—

- I. Constitutional.
- II. Legislative.
- III. Judicial and Administrative.
- IV. Financial.
- V. Liturgical.
- VI. Theological.

I.—CONSTITUTIONAL.

At the outset a root defect meets us—the absence of any definite authoritative statement as to what the constitutional principles of English Church Government exactly are. Neither in the ecclesiastical canons, nor in the Thirty-nine Articles, nor in any Act of Parliament, is it possible to find such a precise definition of the ecclesiastical organization, as shall make it quite plain, for example, how far ecclesiastical legislation or jurisdiction is under the regulation of the nation itself; or rather, how far the clergy in their Convocations are entitled to be consulted in such matters. There are some who are satisfied with the assertion of the royal supremacy at the Reformation, and consider that this, together with other powers of the sovereign, is now adequately exercised by Parliament.

But this is by no means universally admitted. There is a clericalist section, undeniably strong among the

clergy themselves, who are impatient of parliamentary authority, and at times even defy and resist it.

Dean Church, in his evidence before the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission,¹ says, "One cannot read any part of the Tudor legislation without seeing that the king was supposed to have powers which we retain in our statutes to a certain extent, but *they are legal fictions.*"

Very similar statements may be extracted from the evidence of Sir Walter Phillimore, Canon Liddon, Dr. Littledale, Mr. Beresford Hope, and others.

On the other hand, the authority of the Convocations cannot be held in itself to be binding. The canons of 1603 are commonly understood to have some validity, but the extent of it is disputed. They do not, according to the judgment of Lord Hardwicke,² which is universally accepted, of themselves bind the laity: yet they certainly undertake to legislate for the laity. Nor did Lord Hardwicke state whether they of themselves bound the clergy. They were passed by the clergy alone against the strong protest of the House of Commons: nor can any constitutional difference be made between them and the articles of 1639, which are universally disallowed. Any attempt in the present day to erect the Convocations into a legislature, would be to provoke a violent conflict for the sake of a bad object.

The conclusion of Hooker's argument upon the subject is that ecclesiastical laws are rightly made by

¹ Begun 1881, reported 1883.

² *Middleton v. Crofts*, 1736; 2 Atkyns' "Reports," 650.

Parliament with the Convocations adjoined to it. It is certain that many important ecclesiastical laws have been made by Parliament alone ; but a partial recognition of the clerical assemblies has from time to time been made both in early and in recent times ; and the uncertainty of their authority impairs the directness and confidence with which reforms are demanded and enacted.

It cannot be denied that as a matter of historical fact the Church of England is a comprehensive church. But it is not equally true to assert that this comprehensiveness is due to the design of the original framers of the revised constitution. Mr. Froude, indeed, sums up¹ the history of the great compromise of old tradition and new conviction which Henry and Elizabeth shaped : "The object had been so to frame the constitution of the Church of England that disloyalty alone should exclude any English subject from its communion who could in any true sense be called a Christian ; so to frame its formulas that they might be patient of a Catholic or a Protestant interpretation according to this or that sect of the people ; that the Church should profess and teach a uniform doctrine in essentials as the word was understood by the latitudinarians of the age, while in non-essentials it should contain ambiguous phrases resembling the many watchwords which divided the world, and thus enable Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Zwinglian to insist each that the Church of England was theirs." But Mr. Froude's statement is much more a

¹ "History of England," vi. 192 (small edition).

description of the final issue of a long conflict of contending theories rather than of the guiding principle of the original plan. What history really teaches us is, that the comprehensive character of the Church of England is the result of circumstances rather than the product of intention. And here again those who desire to make the comprehensiveness an active reality are met by the ambiguity of documents framed to meet circumstances in many ways differing from our own.

A similar criticism may not unfitly be made with regard to another great constitutional principle, namely, the *restoration of lay power to its legitimate supremacy* in the government of the Church.

No doubt the Reformation may be regarded in very different aspects according to one's particular standpoint, but certainly not the least of its great advantages was the restoration of lay power to its legitimate position. Exception may of course be taken to the method in which that lay power was asserted. The supremacy of the Crown, as exhibited in the person of such a prince as Henry VIII., did not present in a favourable light the ultimate subordination of sacerdotal to lay power in the ecclesiastical polity. But it was the only form under which at that time it was possible to assert it. By the declaration of the king's supremacy, not only was the supremacy of the pope abolished, but the government of the whole clerical estate was brought under the same authority as the government of the State, namely, the authority of English Law.

It is this principle which requires to be reasserted at the present time. Lay power as represented by the royal supremacy now practically assumes the form of lay power exercised by Parliament. But we want lay power all through the organization as well as at the centre. We want, in fact, representative government in the diocese, in the rural deanery, in the parish. To sum up, the problem that faces us is this—" *Can the Church adapt itself to the methods of representative popular government to which all other national institutions are now subject?* "

The elasticity of the English constitution has been its safety, inasmuch as it has provided in all other departments for the power of the people as the people have demanded it. It is now for the Ecclesiastical State to prove itself as comprehensive as the Civil State has proved itself elastic.

II.—LEGISLATIVE.

The legislative failures of the Church have in most cases grown out of the constitutional. In theory and in capacity the Church of England was intended to be the church of the nation. In modern practice it has become far less than this. In theory, the Church and the State were intended to grow together ; but in practice the State has outgrown the Church, and has left it as it were centuries behind. The development of the Church harmoniously with the growth of the State was unfortunately checked by the Act of Uniformity, and no determined attempt has since been made on the part of the State to stimulate that

growth, or to ensure by legislative measures that the Church should become as national and comprehensive in reality as she no doubt is potentially.

The mischief began at an early period. "Why," said Lord Bacon, "should the civil State be purged and restored by good and wholesome laws made every three years in Parliament assembled, devising remedies as fast as time heedeth mischief; and contrariwise the ecclesiastical State still continue upon the dregs of time, and receive no alteration these forty-five years or more?"

After two hundred and eighty years we are still hearing the echo of the same complaint.

In his evidence before the Royal Commission quoted above, the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Church) complains:

"We have never had in the Church of England a proper code of laws. It was one of the very first things contemplated at the Reformation. A body of people was appointed and the *Reformatio Legum* was drawn, and it has never come to anything. . . . The great Church of England ought to have some code of laws capable of being changed from time to time. . . . Then we should have, *what we have not now*, law binding both on Church and State."

Even stronger is the statement of the Bishop of Peterborough at the Church Congress of 1873:

"Our laws are not only ambiguous, but in many respects obsolete. They may have perfectly suited the requirements of the day in which they were made, but they do not suit necessarily the requirements of other days. You require for the Church the power from time to time

to alter and amend within certain broad limits our ritual, our discipline, our canons, our rubrics. The difficulty at the present day is to administer the law at a time when all law is strained by a spirit of lawlessness. To put it in other words, we are trying to hold the strong fermented wine of the nineteenth century in the bottles of the sixteenth."

The anomaly can only be removed in one of two ways, either by Parliament accepting the principle of comprehension, and by a series of legislative measures undertaking such a radical reform of the Established Church system as shall bring the ecclesiastical State on a level with the civil; or by the transference of supreme power from Parliament to a new governing body, constituted in such a manner as fairly to represent the laity and clergy of the Church.

Those who are in favour of this second alternative naturally look for its realization to the reform of Convocation. The main lines of their contention are these: "Convocation as at present constituted is not even a fair representation of the clergy. It would be on all accounts better to unite the two Provincial Houses of Convocation, and to admit the laity. The inclusion of the laity, it is true, would involve an essential change in the constitution of this venerable body; but it is a change that is called for by the circumstances of the time. The English Church, like all organic bodies, ought to have, on proper terms and conditions, a corporate voice and a corporate action for all its members, and not only for one

class of them. Formerly the action of Convocation, together with that of Parliament, was held substantially to attain that object ; but Parliament does not now profess to represent the Church, and is more and more unwilling to interfere with its internal concerns. It is advisable, therefore, so to reform Convocation, by widening its representation and including the laity, as to constitute a new governing body for the Church."

The objections, on constitutional grounds, to such a proposal are obvious. On the one hand, it is said, Convocation represents an estate of the realm, viz., the clergy, and the proposal to include the laity would be subversive of the constitution. On the other hand—and this objection is a more serious one—those who regard Convocation as simply the provincial synods of the archbishops, rightly argue that all real legislative power must remain with the national Parliament, and to admit the laity to a recognized position in Convocation would be to mend one anomaly by making a worse.

We are driven back, therefore, to the first alternative of Parliamentary Reform. The constitutional method of ecclesiastical legislation is by Acts of Parliament prepared by Royal Commissions ; and there is no evidence that this method has failed. When the commission has been wrongly balanced, or when it has been merely appointed to inquire into matters about which there was no tendency to agreement, the process has deservedly failed. And it should be recognized (1) that not many new ecclesiastical laws are needed ; and (2) that it is

better to leave things as they are than to legislate when there is no decisive drift of opinion in the nation. But it may be confidently predicted that when the mind of the nation is made up on the subject of Church Reform, there will be no difficulty in giving effect to its resolution through a Royal Commission and Parliament.

III.—JUDICIAL (*a*) AND ADMINISTRATIVE (*b*).

(*a*) The first and most necessary condition for the existence of any society is the power not only to make laws, but to maintain discipline. The discipline of the Church, in respect of manners, doctrine, and ritual, is administered, in the first instance, by the bishops, assisted by commissioners, and further by ecclesiastical courts.

Until recent times the jurisdiction of these courts was very extensive, affecting the laity as well as the clergy, in matters such as those of wills and of marriage. In the Saxon period the earl and the bishop had sat side by side in the county courts; but from the Conquest onwards the courts were wholly under the control of the clergy, with an appeal in great causes either to the king or to the pope. At the Reformation the appeals to Rome were forbidden, the right of appeal to the king was given by statute, and the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction was declared to belong not to the pope or the clergy, but to the king.

Since the Reformation there has been a constant progress in laicization. The bishop has ceased to have any jurisdiction at all over the laity, except in matters

of public worship. Over his clergy he exercises jurisdiction, but as the officer no longer of a separate organization, but of one which has been incorporated into the nation, and works under national authority. In this jurisdiction, moreover, he is rigidly limited by conditions and forms prescribed by Acts of Parliament. Further, whatever judgment he renders, or refuses to render, is subject to appeal to a layman, sitting under the style of the Judge of the Metropolitan, nominated by the two archbishops, with the sanction of the Crown, or even appointed by the Crown alone. In the last resort, moreover, the appeal lies to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, which claims commission not from a clerical, but a national authority.

Of late years much dissatisfaction has been expressed by a large party, mainly among the clergy, with this so-called *secularization of the spiritual authority*. The expression of this dissatisfaction may be best seen in the evidence taken by the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, from which we have already quoted.

To any one, however, who reads that evidence carefully, it is plain that behind the controversy as to the subordination of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to civil authority lies a controversy of a still more momentous character, namely, the due relation of the clerical to the lay power in the Church itself.

The truth is, the constitution of the English Church, as we have it now, is the result of a compromise between two conflicting theories of Church government, or, to

speaking more strictly, two conflicting conceptions as to its origin. On the one hand, the external polity of the Church is conceived as of Divine institution: Jesus Christ is held not only to have founded a visible Church, but also to have given it a certain constitution, and certain definite forms of order and worship, intended to be of universal and eternal obligation. Of this visible organization there are certain essential "Notes"—as, for example, the judicial supremacy of bishops and the sacredness of synodical action—by which a true church is always to be distinguished.

On the other hand, it is held that while the cardinal doctrines of the faith and the spirit of Christianity are to be accepted undoubtedly as of Divine institution, the external polity is a mere human ordinance to be accounted for by broad historical causes: the gradual growth of the primitive Christian institutions being traceable from the first, and in many cases the actual origin of the various details of government and discipline found in the outward circumstances of the time.

It is evidently only necessary to state these two theories thus briefly to show how confusion of ideal must of necessity stand in the way of effective constitutional Church reform. True co-operation can only be based on community of ideal. And here we have on the one hand, as the inspiring and guiding motive of reform, a desire to fall back as closely as possible upon the historical organization of the Church as it is supposed to have existed "in the purity of the primitive

ages;" and on the other, a faith in an organic spirit of unity and progress which will gradually evolve a new order in accordance with modern environment and needs.

The existence of these opposing theories not only makes it difficult to effect reforms in the system, but puts out of sight the real evils and their appropriate remedies. The evil lies not in the lack of substantial justice in the decision of great causes, such as the Gorham or Bennett cases, or those which arose out of "Essays and Reviews," or those relating to ritual: of these (except perhaps of some of the last-named class) few would complain, or allege that there had been in them any substantial miscarriage of justice. But the evil lies, first, in the clumsiness of the method employed, and the vast expense entailed even by cases of little importance: and, secondly, in the treatment of all causes by the same methods. There are three different classes of questions: (1) Charges of drunkenness, or immorality, which partake of a distinctly criminal character; (2) Questions of doctrine, which have no precise analogy in ordinary law, and require a peculiar treatment; and (3) Matters of ritual, which are really matters of administration. At present all these are treated by the same method—that is, as involving a criminal suit against a clergyman. "Articles" are "exhibited" (such is the expression) against him by persons who come forward to "promote the office" of the judge: the question argued is whether these articles shall stand, or be amended or struck out; and there is an "interlocutory judgment" as well as a "definitive judgment," before

penalties are pronounced upon the accused "for the health of his soul." This process suits well enough for cases of doctrine, where every delay gives opportunity for needful consideration. But the really criminal cases need the methods of criminal law modified to suit the circumstances. Matters of ritual, on the other hand, should be settled by some local discretion which is easily accessible, which can take account of all local circumstances, and the decision of which can be reversed if the circumstances change. What can be more irrational than that a question whether a pair of candlesticks should stand on a communion table, or a picture hang on the wall of the church, can only be determined by three parishioners being willing to take action against their pastor in what is held to be a criminal suit, and to ask that penalties should be inflicted on him "for the well-being of his soul"? Perhaps men may agree to differ on the larger questions touched on above, and apply common sense to the remedy of these real evils.

(b) Under the head of administrative failure it is hardly necessary to recall the scandals and abuses in connection with Church patronage. This is a point on which all Church reformers are agreed. A select committee of the House of Commons reported in 1884 in favour of abolishing all sales, except to public bodies, with certain limitations; and recommended that public notice should in all cases be given to the parishioners before the institution of a clergyman presented to a living, in order that, if they had any objection to make, they might be heard.

This is the very least that can be done: and that it will be done, the framing of the Archbishop of Canterbury's new Patronage Act is, it is to be hoped, a sufficient pledge.

With regard to ministerial inefficiency, and especially the speedy removal of "criminous clerks," the Pluralities Acts Amendment Act passed in 1885 will undoubtedly be useful, but greater power and facility is still wanted to deal with cases of immorality.

It cannot be denied that the standard of ministerial efficiency has risen, or that the number of black sheep is small in proportion to the large body of clergy. But the evil done even by a few "criminous clerks" is great: and yet there is the greatest difficulty in removing them. There is no fund except the bishop's own income out of which the expenses of the cumbrous process above described can be met: and the technical difficulties are so great that even when the misdeeds are notorious, or even when a law court has inflicted punishment for them, it is not certain that the evil-doer can be deprived of his benefice. As regards inefficiency, it is certain (and such cases are not unknown) that men who have secured their appointment to a benefice may go on all their lives in entire neglect of the welfare of the parish, and yet, so long as they perform the services required by law, neither the bishop nor the people have any power to demand improvement or to enforce removal.

Church reformers cannot but admit that the Church system has in many such cases failed of its purpose. Its ministers have often been lukewarm and worldly minded.

Even where sincere and earnest, they have not always evoked the Christian energies of their people. The system has not, as at present administered, tended to unity ; nor has the nation, though it has power over it, ever felt it to be really its own. Even where it has made itself respected, the respect is somewhat distant : and hence, not only is it often misunderstood, and often excites an enmity which is more or less justified, but its defence is not undertaken as that of a national institution, but is left to the supposed interest of the clergy and their adherents.

IV.—FINANCIAL.

An estimate has been given of the revenues of the clergy in an earlier part of this volume[†] ; and it appears that, if fully paid, they would yield an average income of from £300 to £350 to each beneficed clergyman. But they are not assigned on any principle which might make them useful to the Church. The caprices of lords of manors in Saxon times, the absorption of the revenues of benefices by the abbeys in the middle ages, and their confiscation as part of the abbey property at the Reformation, are among the chief causes which have made the system a mass of anomalies : and the rights of patrons and of parishes (the endowments being given to the parish, or rather to the incumbent as a corporation sole) have stood in the way of a readjustment. Any one who will reflect upon the distribution of Church revenues in any locality with which he is acquainted will find instances of (1)

[†] Pages 26, 27.

parochial districts where there is a large income and little work ; (2) districts in which there is little income and much work ; (3) contiguous parishes, each too small to furnish work or adequate support to a clergyman, but in each of which a clergyman is settled. In a country district known to the editor of this volume there are within a distance of nine miles ten parishes, having an average population of 140 each, the largest having 337, and the smallest 22 inhabitants ; in all but two there is a resident clergyman, and the average income of each incumbent is £250 gross, or £220 net. In cases in which a town population has overflowed into the adjoining country parish, the result has constantly been that a new town parish has been formed, with perhaps 2,000 or 3,000 inhabitants, the clergyman of which has a living of some £200, made up of a small portion of the country rector's income, with an addition of a similar amount from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and a few pew-rents ; while the country rector, with a greatly diminished population, has an income of from £300 to £600, or even more.

The evils resulting from this state of things are (1) a great waste of public funds ; (2) a sense of anomaly, injustice, and lack of business power in the Church system ; (3) the crippling of those who are doing most work ; and (4) the waste of ministerial power, superior men being drawn into a life of idleness, and the clerical profession becoming filled with men whose position tempts them to be triflers or meddlers, and who are out of sympathy with the working force of the nation.

Nor can it be said that the property interests of parishes require the perpetuation of these anomalies. The parish property is not more sacred than that of the bishops and chapters, much of which, indeed, lies in the parishes to which it originally belonged; yet these last have been taken over and manipulated by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, through the action of whose common fund they have become the source of endowment to new districts. Much of the property of parish churches passed into the hands of the abbeys, or, later, into those of colleges; and much of it is owned by non-resident laymen. There would, therefore, be nothing strange in the re-apportionment of the parochial revenues, and the grave scandal caused by their present allocation ought without delay to be abated.

V.—LITURGICAL.

The first Acts of Uniformity were measures of relief, and were intended to secure to the people certain rights which had been denied them. This description to some extent applies even to the Act of Uniformity of 1662. But the time has clearly come for its relaxation, at least to such an extent as would make it lawful to hold in our churches a greater variety of services, according to the needs and circumstances of the population in different parishes and districts.

In old days the emotional and the æsthetic education of the people was cared for through the forms of the Church's public worship. The ritual of the Church of

the middle ages was essentially social and dramatic. In our day, on the other hand, the tendency of public devotion is chiefly lyrical, aiming at the expression of the inward communion of the soul with God, and of the experiences and thoughts of the individual life.

We want to do something to restore and supplement the old spirit of social devotion and worship, which is as much needed as ever for the spiritual government of man. The old forms, "the fixed solemnity of the Church's stately ordered ritual of the seasons," have, to a large extent been discredited or have lost their power, with those at any rate who specially need such influences to counteract the dull materialism and secularity of their lives. New channels need to be found through which "the water of life" may flow to the souls of the people.

There is also a special need in these days for bringing social and civic duty prominently under the consecration of Christian ritual.

The principle of the Calendar needs to be extended by recognizing on all suitable public occasions the moral discipline to be gained from the enthusiastic commemoration of great ideals, as seen not merely in ancient times, but in modern, and in various walks of life.

There is need that music and art should be more freely adapted to the popular service of religion. There is need also that modern thought should express itself more freely in our public devotions. This was fully recognized by the present Archbishop of Canterbury in the first service in which he took part after his consecration, one in which

the chief outward expression of worship was found in the glorious music of Mendelssohn's "Lobgesang." We gladly adopt the words then used by him :

"Whatever we lack, whatever of elasticity we require to reclaim indifference, or enable us to be patient with man's ever changeful modes of expressing faith or reverence, Christ our Master will yet supply. . . . Many products and results of the most modern life among us, and many characters that are being formed under influences in nowise Church-like to begin with, are really destined, each in its turn, to add to the grace and beauty of the Church, and to its enrichment with the spoils of freed thought and the tributes of all pure feeling."

But freed thought demands free expression. The Act of Uniformity sealed up the expression of devotion. Since that fatal Act not a prayer has been added to the Prayer-book, while free prayer has been forbidden in our churches even on the most simple and informal occasions. One-half of English Christendom refuses all forms whatever ; the other half refuses all worship except in forms which were stereotyped two hundred years ago. This cannot but be reckoned a failure in the National Church, and a remedy for it must speedily be found.

VI.—THEOLOGICAL.

There remains the question of clerical subscription to the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles. The Articles, originally a deliberately ambiguous compromise, have long ceased to serve the purpose for which they

were originally imposed. "They consist," as was once said by Dean Stanley, "of a number of complicated propositions on many intricate and difficult questions—propositions drawn up by men who lived three hundred years ago, in the heat of vehement struggles which have long since passed away—by men who, venerable as they were in station, and some of them estimable in character and distinguished in ability and learning, were still not the foremost men of the age in which they lived, and therefore not the men whose expressions on these subjects we should most naturally expect to be permanent. Whilst, perhaps, there is no Article which does not contain some great truth to which every Christian, or at least every Protestant, would assent, there can be little doubt that many of them state the truth in terms which, by large sections in the Church of England would naturally be regarded as exaggerated and one-sided."

It is surely time, therefore, that even the attenuated form of "assent" which in 1865 was substituted for the more stringent subscription enjoined by the Act of Uniformity, should be entirely abolished.¹ The existing form of assent is so nearly useless as to be practically

¹ This Declaration, the only one which can now be legally imposed on the clergy, is as follows: "I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer and of the ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. I believe the doctrine of the Church of England as therein set forth to be agreeable to the Word of God; and in public prayer and administration of Sacraments I will use the form in the said Book prescribed and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority" (28 and 29 Vict. c. 122, §1).

superfluous. But it is hampering to sensitive and upright men, and, as being the remains of an obsolete system of mutual mistrust, it should be abolished.

Similarly with regard to the Book of Common Prayer. The old form of subscription required assent "*to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer,*" and a declaration was required that the Prayer-book in all its usages and statements contained "*nothing* contrary to the Word." Now all that is required by the subscribing clergyman is assent to the book as a whole, and his belief that the doctrine of the Church therein set forth is agreeable to the Word of God. It is not assent even to "doctrines" in the plural, but "doctrine" in the singular number, in order that it may be understood that it is the general teaching and not every part and parcel of that teaching to which assent is given. Moreover, in the use of the Prayer-book a considerable latitude exists, and this could easily be extended were a constitutional system to be substituted for the present autocratic system in the parishes. Such latitude is entirely in accordance with the spirit of our institutions which abhors all needless constraint.

It remains only that we should claim the full heritage of our liberty. "To use this liberty as not abusing it"—to quote again the words of one who was himself the great champion of religious liberty and toleration in our own day—"to make it the common inheritance not of one section of the Church, but of all; . . . to build silver bridges for flying enemies, golden bridges for re-

turning friends—this is the task appointed for Freedom as in the English State, so in the English Church.”

“Grave mother of majestic works,
From her high altar gazing down . . .
Her open eyes discern the truth ;
The wisdom of a thousand years
Is in them. May perpetual youth
Keep dry their light from tears,
That her fair form may stand and shine,
Make bright our days and light our dreams,
Turning to scorn with lips divine
The falsehood of extremes.”

CHAPTER III.

THE REMEDY—NOT DISESTABLISHMENT.

THE life of every nation is the great heritage of the common people. Wealth is the inheritance of the few ; literature the possession of a class ; and political leadership and power the attainment of individuals rarely gifted. But every child is born into the rich heredity of the past life of its fatherland. In England, whatever may be true of other nations, the religious life of the people—Catholic, Reformed, and Nonconformist—forms the most splendid part of the birthright of the race. The story of the faith and worship of our country reveals much that we, in the fullest charity, may regret or even condemn ; but more there is which we ought, as one of the highest duties of our citizenship, to endeavour to preserve, develop, and perfect, both for itself, and for the high and holy use to which it may still be put.

If it were the purpose of this paper to show the place and power of every section of the Christian Church in the national life of nearly a thousand years, it would not be difficult to prove that England is deeply indebted to all the religious denominations. Nonconformity has fought and won, both in Church and State, the battle of a noble,

daring, and saintly individualism. The Catholic ideal, preserved in part in all the sectional societies, still finds its most historic illustration in the communion to which a Manning and a Newman have lent the weight of their personal character and social power. These statements, it is scarcely necessary to say, are capable of ample argument and fullest demonstration. But we must not enlarge upon them here, since our one purpose is to show that, with peculiar force, and in these days with increasing favour, the National Church has played a part in the history of the English people worthy of continuance and enlarged opportunities. That this Church has failed of its high ideal, and fallen short of its great opportunity, has been admitted. But let the whole truth be said. The failure has been common to all communions and peculiar to none. The National Church, with all its wide ramifications, reaching to the Throne, to Parliament, to the universities, to the public schools, and by a thousand social and spiritual influences touching the very life of the people, still remains, with its great history, its unique organization, and its awakening zeal, a spiritual force in the land of which it may be justly said that it is *prima inter pares*.

We have to deal with this great factor in our national existence, with its historic continuity, its material resources, and its spiritual aptitudes, not from the abstract position of beautiful and perfect theories, but as practical men, unwilling to weaken or destroy one religious force in our common life.

And it will not be out of place if, very briefly, we state what has been the peculiar gift and grace of the National Church, as one of the religious forces which have moulded our character as a people. We have no hesitation in saying that the secret lies in the partial realization by the people of a great ideal—a NATIONAL Church. Possibly some may sharply criticise this statement. They may think that the doctrinal standards, the ecclesiastical methods, and the personal character of the episcopal clergy, have made the Church what it is. But if such were the truth of the matter, how is it that no forcible illustration of it can be found outside England? Doctrinal standards, ecclesiastical methods, and the high character of the clergy, have not made the episcopal churches in Ireland and Scotland, in Wales and America, what that same communion is in England. They are in all respects, save one, the same Church: yet, with what a difference! The national idea has never been associated with episcopacy in those lands. The result both there and here is most significant. It suggests that after all, doctrinal statements, denominational methods, and personal character, admirable in themselves, fail to satisfy the deep instincts of a nation, or to give expression to its sense of living unity which desires equal realization in its religious as in its political life.

The nationality of the Church—never, we admit, fully attained, has been its most permanent and beneficent power. This, it is to be feared, will seem rank heresy in the eyes of many of those with whom the writer is as-

sociated in religious work. It was no heresy, however, in the very passionate beliefs of the older Independents and Nonconformists. In the battlefield, as well as in the sanctuary, they were Englishmen, children of a great fatherland, and citizens of a noble commonwealth. Separation in religion was never with them, as some have supposed, the mere assertion of the individual conscience. England, as a nation, a people, was always in their hearts; and their magnificent Protestantism and their illustrious Independency were but part and lot of their inestimable sacrifices and service for the kingdom, which they believed to have been raised up by God's providence to make His righteousness prevail both at home and abroad. And this old and too much forgotten conviction of the fathers of British freedom still, happily, lingers in the larger hearted men of the day. Said a late chairman of the Congregational Union,¹ "We are none of us quite satisfied with our sectional societies."

But what must be the result of Disestablishment, which many so earnestly and constantly demand? The increase of sectional societies, and the destruction of that religious communion in which the high ideal of a National Church alone remains to us with any degree of realization. For while Disestablishment will destroy nothing in the churches that separates them from one another and creates a scandal that fills sceptics with a justifiable scorn, it will, once and for all, destroy that which, in common

¹ Rev. E. White, in his address of May, 1886, entitled "Free Church Foundations" (Elliot Stock).

with the great political and social institutions of the country, helps to make us, and may make us yet more and more, one nation and one people ! Disestablishment will take away one of the formative forces of our religious life. It will disappoint for ever the deep desire which the chairman of the Congregational Union expressed in the words just quoted, and which is possessing the hearts of men more than ever, that in some way our separations may cease, and we may become a united people in the fear of God and the practice of holiness.

But Disestablishment will do more than this. It will cut off the religious life of the nation from that deepening and growing tendency towards unity and federation which is fast becoming the dominant feature of public thought. A great idea has dawned upon the national mind. Britain and her many nationalities must be one. Of course this is, in the estimation of some people, a mere sentiment. Be it so ; it has taken hold upon the conscience and imagination of the race. We are to stand together in the defence of the splendid heritage won by our fathers, and committed to our care for the benefit of our children and the world. We are to be one in the large activities of commerce and in the noble services of science and of art. We are to be one in the pursuit of those world-wide ambitions which, while they ennoble our trade and give opportunity for our philanthropy and faith, also confer upon lower races the blessings of our civilization and rule. In all these things we are to aim at unity, and Federation is the new order of the day for all

that pertains to our national life in things that are temporal and political. But when we turn to contemplate the future of our faith, and the fuller and mightier growth of our spiritual life, then quite a new principle is to master us utterly—Separation, Sectionalism, and Sectarianism ; for to these issues Disestablishment must eventually lead. For proof of this, it is only needful to appeal to the common talk of those who anticipate the results of their agitation so far as the Episcopal Church in England is concerned. Not one sect do they foresee emerging from the Establishment, but three, separated, it is suggested, by deeper differences than any which now divide the religious thought and work of the people.

But another consideration is worthy of remark. We have said that Disestablishment applied to the National Church will result in the setting up in the nation of another sect, if not more than one. The methods by which this will be accomplished are most peculiar. The great inheritance now in the possession of the people—an inheritance enormous in its material wealth, its social influence, and its moral and spiritual power—will be taken from the nation and given as the magnificent endowment of a new sect. This, it may be said, is only a statement. The proof of it is near to hand. Disestablishment, if accompanied by Disendowment, will never consign the cathedrals, abbeys, and parish churches of England to secular uses. No one is more fully convinced of this than the leaders of the Liberation policy. The secularization of our elementary schools was once

a pet project of some persons of kindred aims : it has met almost everywhere with a crushing defeat. But if not secularized, what will be done with the national sanctuaries ? Let at some yearly public auction to the highest bidder, with the possibility that the mass may be celebrated at one time and agnostic rites at another ? Will there be some other method devised for the religious use of these buildings ? What can it be that will not establish in some form or another a dominant sect, or a kind of physical federation of contradictory creeds ? The Irish example is sure to be followed when the settlement comes, and the noblest gift that the nation has received from the centuries past will be handed over to the ministers of one sect and the professors of one creed, which would in no way represent the fulness of English Christianity. It has been publicly stated by a notable leader of the Disestablishment party that he contemplates this event with no anxiety whatever. But surely this gentleman does not speak for many of those whose great aim is to make all citizens equal both in civic and religious life. The gain which must always accrue to the sect which is in possession of national property will be enormous.

But there are other considerations that must not be forgotten. Surely before any scheme of Disestablishment is adopted some endeavour ought to be made to look fairly in the face the points presented in these pages. There is something more in our cathedrals and churches than the stones of which they are built or the uses to which they are

at present put. The loss of such edifices to the nation by fire or earthquake is too sad to contemplate. But, surely, some of us may be possessed with something more than mere sentimentality when we plead for the people that, for no mere idea of what is called religious equality, shall they be robbed of that portion of the national inheritance which more than all else in their possession ought to be most precious as a memory of a mighty past and as a hope of yet a nobler future. But Disestablishment, as it is generally understood, might present the spectacle of Sir C. Barry's Houses of Parliament belonging to the nation and Westminster Abbey the property of a sect, many of whose fortunate members display a lively sympathy with Greek and Abyssinian Christians, but proudly stand aloof from millions of their fellow-citizens and even refuse the name of churches to religious societies as old and as truly English as their own communion. In thousands of parishes, Disestablishment would leave the town halls, the vestry rooms, the lock-up and the sanitary mechanisms in the possession of the nation; but the churches, ancient, and hallowed by the worship of centuries and the presence of the dead, will be the property, duly conveyed, of a sect, governed by middle-age canon law and the iniquitous Act of Uniformity, and ruled by a ministry which has the natural vices of all exclusive fraternities.

Disestablishment, by whatever method it may be applied, will rob the people. It will alienate, in thousands of parishes, valuable property from which the poor

and others, under proper administration, might derive very large social and moral benefit. It will commit to the narrow use of a religious sect possessions, both material and moral, to which none but the nation has any right. It will cut athwart the development of the new idea of the rising democracy, and separate the religious life of the people from the growing hope which, as yet but dimly seen, has stirred the heart of the Empire to its deepest depth. It will intensify, to an extent never before felt, the evil elements of sectarian zeal and jealousy, and it will bring to an untimely end that powerful factor in the making of England which, through ecclesiastical revolution, religious strife, and political changes, has yet, in some measure at least, associated the national life with great duties, vast responsibilities, and sacred and holy mysteries, and brought the thought of God, not only to the conscience of the individual, but to the heart of the people.

To disestablish the National Church will be to adopt the somewhat brutal principle of a past age, where physical force hid the failure of moral perception and influence. There surely must be resources in the wit and wisdom of our statesmen to enable them to guide the will of the people towards a better method of dealing with a National Church than by putting it to death.

CHAPTER IV.

LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY OF CHURCH REFORM.

A NATIONALIST Church reformer, as has been explained in the Introduction, desires above all things to see a religious spirit infused into both public and private life. With this view he seeks to give scope to the Christian energies of the nation itself ; to make every citizen feel that his duties as a citizen are religious duties ; to make public men feel that the attempts which are made to raise the poor, to promote education and temperance and thrift, to repress sexual crime, or to improve the dwellings of the poor, are acts of a Christian church or body corporate, the analogies which this age presents to the training and beneficence of the early Church. He looks upon the Church system as the expression of this national Christianity, and its parochial ministrations as the means by which the nation or Christian community works upon its several parts and all its members to inspire them with a Christian spirit in both private and public life.

When, therefore, he looks at the Church system—that is, the system of worship and parochial ministrations carried on by the clergy, he asks whether it is performing

this function ; whether it is promoting Christian peace and unity, helping on Christian liberty, fraternity, and equality ; training the people in Christian righteousness. And what does he find ? That the clergy have a position of feudal independence, in which they are, in most cases, placed by no action of the nation or of that fraction of the nation to which they are to minister, that they hold a position described by the feudal term *benefice*—each clergyman being the *persona* or representative of the *benefice*—which encourages them to think of property rather than of duty, and which identifies them with the landed gentry rather than with the professional or working classes ; that this position contributes, along with ecclesiastical claims, to foster in the clergy a class-spirit, which occasionally expresses itself with arrogance and defies the law, which puts them out of sympathy with the ordinary wants of the people, and has often caused them to oppose their just demands, and which also disposes them to look down upon Nonconformists ; that they alone have power in their parishes, the laity being excluded from any substantial voice in the appointment, control, or dismissal of their ministers, in the worship of the church and the management of the parish, and even in the control of funds collected in the church. As a consequence of all this, he finds that not only is there a line drawn across the religious life of the country, separating off the so-called Churchmen from so-called Nonconformists in a manner wholly unrecognized in common life, but that the Christian energies of laymen are dwarfed and crushed, and the whole

system appears to the mass of the people as an exotic framework imposed upon them from without, in the operation of which they are unconsulted and unconcerned.

The two great aims, therefore, of the nationalist reformers, in contrast to both the clericalist and the separatist systems, are—as has been stated in the Introduction—first, to make the Church system national, not clerical or separatist; secondly, to make it comprehensive, not exclusive.

The experience of the past is our best guide to the future. It is thought, therefore, that, before entering upon a detailed consideration of reforms, it will be well to show, by a reference to history, that the aims just stated have been pursued by reformers at various epochs.

1. Let us go back to the earliest protests which were made against clericalism in the middle ages. Mr. Frederick Maurice used to speak of these as containing the essence of Protestantism. As soon as popular power began to be felt in England, through the formation of the Parliament in the reign of Edward I., the first Acts of Præmunire and Provisions were passed, which forbade the introduction of the Pope's bulls and the exercise of his power to legislate for English subjects; and which forbade the same clerical and exotic authority to appoint clergymen to minister to English subjects. These were Acts of national religion as opposed to clericalism. In the following century—the time of Edward II. and III.

—the assertion of the royal and national power against clericalism continued, and culminated in our first great reformer—John Wycliff. Those who write upon the Reformation often speak of Wycliff as one of its precursors only, because he held special views about the Sacrament and Predestination such as the Protestants afterwards held, and because he resisted papal authority over his individual conscience. But his protest in favour of national religion makes him a precursor of the Reformation in another sense: that which subdued both foreign and domestic clericalism in the reign of Henry VIII. His greatest work is that "*De Dominio*," concerning rule. God, he teaches, the Supreme Ruler, has given authority to the national ruler. The king is God's vicar. The clergy are not lords but ministers, and are subject to the king's (that is the national) law. These principles Wycliff had no doubt learned from another great Englishman of the previous generation, William of Occam, who, with Marsilio of Padua, joined in the enthusiastic defence of the claims of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria against the Pope. The other parts of Wycliff's scheme correspond with this. He translated the Bible into English, so that the plain, vernacular Englishman should gain his religion for himself, and be no longer dependent on the clergy. He organized companies of poor priests who preached in the most direct way to the common people. He wrote English tracts for the same purpose, and became the originator of English prose, as his contemporary and admirer, Geoffrey Chaucer, became

of English verse. He thought that the clerical system, with all its abuses, could only be deprived of its evil power by being deprived of all its possessions. These possessions he declared the king and Parliament had a right to take away ; and he wished the clergy to resign them. In fact, to use the language of our times, though he was not for disestablishment, he was for disendowment. His teaching was taken up in a sense he had not intended in the rising of Wat Tyler in Kent, and the preaching of the prophet of that rising, John Ball. It was an agricultural labourers' movement before its time, and was mercilessly and treacherously put down. But the teaching of Wycliff had its effects in the movement against the excessive endowments of the clergy, which bore so small a part of the national burdens. This movement was so strong in the beginning of the reign of Henry V., that it is believed the Parliament would have recommended the confiscation of the clerical revenues, but for the astute policy of Archbishop Chichele. The archbishop,¹ as we read in the beginning of Shakspeare's Henry V., invited the king to go to war with France, and thus diverted the attention of the nation from their attack upon the revenues of the clergy.

But reform was in the air. All Europe was demanding

¹ The traditional representation of the facts, which may be seen in Collier's "*Ecclesiastical History*," iii. 303, is shown by Stubbs ("*Constitutional History*," iii. 89) to be incorrect. But Chichele's part in the affair is shown by his subsequent foundation of All Souls College for prayers for his soul, and the souls of those who fell in the French wars.

a reformation, and five great English ecclesiastics (Robert Hallam of Salisbury at their head) took part in the Council of Constance, which asserted the power of the Church as against the Pope. That council affords a warning to reformers not to be misled into the channel of clericalist reform. It was emphatically an attempt at reform on a clerical basis. It began vigorously by deposing three popes, or three pretenders to the popedom, and thus ending the schism of forty years. It elected another pope, who owed his elevation to the council. It also declared the power of the council over the popedom. But there its power for good ended. Like all clericalist assemblies, it hated liberty of thought, and was sensitive about its own orthodoxy; and it proceeded to condemn John Hus, the Bohemian follower of Wycliff, and to bring him to the stake, in treacherous defiance of the safe-conduct he had received from the Emperor Sigismund. After this, the reforms which the body of the Christian Church cared for were speedily put aside, and the work of four years ended in an unsuccessful attempt of the bishops to rid their temporalities from the exactions of the court of Rome. "The Council failed," says Creighton,¹ "partly because it was a purely ecclesiastical assembly, (the Emperor) Sigismund being merely ornamental, and having no power, in such matters as the case of Hus or the projected reforms, to promote his conviction, and wishes; partly also because it was really a struggle of the Bishops and the Pope in which

¹ "History of Popes of the Reformation," i. 420.

the laity took little interest." Does not this remind us of some projects of reform which we hear of in our own time, in which there is much professed zeal (very newly awakened) for the promotion of arrangements for the efficiency of the clerical system, with a good many side glances at matters of clerical temporalities in which the laity take but a secondary interest ; while, the moment a plan is put forward to give the laity real power in the parishes where they can act to good purpose, reforming zeal is exchanged for protests against all but *bonâ fide* Churchmen, and the determination is shown to maintain the walls of separation built up in 1662, and to clutch, even if it should be with dying hands, at every vestige of clerical power ?

The clericalist attempt at reform for all Europe failed at Constance and at Basle, as the attempt at confiscation (which has also its counterpart in the present day) had failed in England : and there were special circumstances which gave power to the clergy during the remainder of the 15th century. But as soon as their power was felt to be secure (this experience also has been repeated at various epochs) they made no further attempt at reform ; and the waters gradually rose behind the dam till the great reform of the next century came flooding in upon them.

In the histories of the Reformation which we commonly read, too much stress is usually laid upon the changes of dogma and ritual, too little upon the emancipation of human life, individual and national, from the trammels of clericalism. The new-found gospel was felt as a

liberating force, not merely in the great affairs of individual faith and pardon, but in the whole range of private and public life. The dignity of life as a service of God both for men and for nations was recognized, and the remodelling of the Church system was effected in accordance with this recognition. Men think of Luther in connection with the abolition of papal indulgences, and the proclamation of the doctrine of justification by faith. Why do they not remember his appeal to the German Princes, and his other great doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers? It was a great uprising of the national conscience, and the Fatherland recognized the greatest of her sons by inscribing on Luther's grave the words, "*Propheta Germaniæ.*"

His influence was curtailed in this respect by the unworthy conflicts about the Sacrament which took up his later years, and tore to pieces the churches of the Reformation. But in England this national side of the Reformation shone out with a power which clericalists and separatists have combined to obscure, but which is its real and permanent glory. If we put aside the violence of Henry VIII., the carelessness which he often showed about human life, and the coarseness and cruelty of his dealing with three of his wives, and think of him only as a ruler, steering the bark of the State through the roughest storm it ever weathered, we cannot withhold our admiration from his statesmanship. What the Councils of Constance and Basle had failed to effect in many years, the riddance of the authority of the pope, Henry and

the English laity accomplished in a single Parliament, almost by a single Act, the Act of Appeals. In the legislation of the years 1529-35, first, the power of the pope over England was destroyed; secondly, the clergy were brought under the common law of the realm. What did these two things imply? They implied that the life of the nation, acting for itself, under its sovereign, as a branch of the Catholic Church, was not to be fettered by the clerical system; that its religious life was to be lived freely, according to what it felt to be the dictates of right. God's justice speaking direct to the public conscience, not the pope speaking through the clerical system, was to dictate the laws and pronounce judgment upon them; and the lay life, the life of the family, of trade, of politics, was claimed as being a service of God as much as common prayers and religious observances. This cannot be better illustrated than by the quotation of a passage from a book by William Tyndale, the translator of the Bible, who died a martyr for the truth, the friend of Luther, and a man of great simplicity and earnest piety. It was written in the year 1527, two years before the great reform began in England. He points out how, in each department of life, the true service of God consists in plain justice and the fulfilment of right relations: but that in each case the clerical system had overlaid and perverted it. In the family, the wife and child and servant should render due obedience to the father of the family, and care for their household duties; but the priest came in to draw off the wife to the confessional, or the

daughter to a nunnery, or the son or servant to take some vow ; and these obligations of the clerical system superseded the duties of the home and broke up the family life. And so it had been in the other relations of society. In the State the king's law should be supreme ; for, says Tyndale, "His law is God's law, and nothing but the law of nature and natural equity which God graved in the hearts of men." This law must be supreme over the clerical law which, from the time of Becket, had resisted it. In this we have the germ of the royal supremacy, the doctrine that the sovereign power in the commonwealth is supreme in the ecclesiastical as well as the civil sphere.

We here see the principle of National Church reform as it operated in the English Reformation. Henry VIII. is known to have read Tyndale's book on "Obedience," and to have said to Anne Boleyn, who had lent it him, "This is a book for me and for all kings to ponder." The conviction had seized on men's minds that not what the pope and the clergy dictated was God's service, but what the Word of God and His voice in the conscience dictated : and that which followed from this conviction was that the clerical system must be made to conform to the real needs of human life. The reign of fancy and legend was at an end. The reign of light and veracity was begun.

Tyndale traces out, in accordance with this conviction, the changes which he would make in Christian teaching and church ordinances, anticipating to a large extent the plans

adopted twenty years later in the Anglican Church. The Bible must be accessible to all in the native tongue, the prayers must be in English, the arrangement of the church must be simple, the mass of superstitious ceremonies must be given up ; the clergy must be subject to the king ; there must be one law in England for all alike. These ideas took shape in the proclamation of the king's supremacy, which meant that the nation itself, carrying with it the influence of the common and general life, must be supreme in the regulation of the whole Church system ; and this principle begat all the doctrinal and liturgical changes which followed. These may be summed up in the single word Simplification. The Bible in English was put in the churches ; the Litany in English was so edited by the king and Cranmer as to leave out all superstitious ideas, and to pray for king, clergy, lords, magistrates, and all orders and degrees of men, as making up together one Christian commonwealth. The changes made in the time of Edward VI. and Elizabeth were a continuation of this process. Thus the Church reforms of the sixteenth century were completed on a nationalist basis.

Had that basis been frankly recognized, the disputes which grew up in the reign of Elizabeth, and led in the time of James I. and Charles I. to persecution and to civil war, would have been avoided. Even at the accession of James in 1603 the Puritans and the Parliament were moderate and reasonable, and a very little concession on the part of the court and the clergy would have

ended the dispute. But instead of allowing free play to the national will, both parties were imbued with the spirit of sectarianism. The clergy, followed by the court, proclaimed, in a haughty and persecuting spirit, the divine right of the king and the exclusive legitimacy of episcopacy, and refused almost all changes. They seemed for the time to have triumphed. In the years between the accession of Charles I. and the meeting of the Long Parliament, Laud seemed to have crushed out all resistance. He was a reformer of the clericalist type; under him churches were adorned, the clergy gained greatly in power and dignity, and the nation might have appeared to a superficial observer to have acquiesced in the Anglican system. But it was not really so. A deep indignation against clericalism was growing, and asserted itself like a thunderbolt in the Great Rebellion. Clericalist reform had completely failed. The Parliament, which had been moderate in the time of James, was thrown by antagonism into the arms, first of those who determined to enforce the Presbyterian system (the Genevan model, as it was called) as a matter of divine and exclusive right, and then of the Independents, who would have no forms at all, but left all to the momentary impulse of each congregation or even each individual. Here was separatist or sectarian reform in its full development: the sense of unity, the expression of national Christianity, was lost in multiplicity. But it was found that this by no means responded to the religious wants of the people; so that the nation passionately welcomed the restoration of unity under the king, and

drew much more tightly than before the cords of a strangling uniformity. Thus, after the failure of the clericalist movement, the attempt at reform on separatist or sectarian lines proved disastrous.

Disastrous for all parties ; for the idea now began to prevail on both sides that the Church of England was nothing but a privileged sect. Even at the Revolution, though the Toleration Act was passed, the clergy were allowed to prevent a further relaxation of the Act of Uniformity. It was proposed that such changes should be made as the Presbyterians and Independents most desired (and they were very moderate), such as that a man should not be obliged to declare his absolute consent to all that was in the Prayer-book and Articles when he became a parish clergyman, and that, if he could not himself use the prayers, he might employ an assistant to do so. But the clergy in their convocations refused this. Then, by the Test Acts, it was provided that no man should hold office without taking the Sacrament in the Anglican form ; and by the Occasional Conformity Act it was provided that even those Dissenters who wished to qualify by occasionally taking the Sacrament should be kept out. Thus clericalism, or, as it was then called, High Church, triumphed, and its evil work lasted for about one hundred and thirty years.

Yet even so the national Christian unity was not wholly broken up. The Nonconformists still held many rights within the National Church system, and their worship was not forbidden. They have never been

outside the Church. They were placed under certain disqualifications, as women or minors are; but the effect of the Toleration Act was not to create a number of churches, but to declare that the Christian commonwealth left entire freedom to its members to associate themselves for purposes of worship, using whatever forms they might think most edifying. Only it attached certain disqualifications to those not worshipping in the authorized forms. And thus, till the reforming era of the present century, the question of the Church system went to sleep.

In the last half-century there have been three epochs in which the question of Church reform has come to the front, corresponding to the three Reform Acts in 1833, in 1869, and in 1885. In each epoch we may see the three tendencies at work—the separatist or sectarian, which would destroy all national expression of Christianity; the clericalist, which would confine it within the forms sanctioned by the clergy; and the nationalist, which would evoke the common Christian conviction of the nation, and mould the Church system in accordance with it. The nation has stood perplexed between these tendencies, and in the numerous reforms which it has made has consulted practical convenience rather than adopted any settled principle of action.

As soon as the era of Reform began to dawn, it was felt that the Acts which prevented Dissenters from holding municipal offices and Roman Catholics from sitting in Parliament must be abrogated. But these

reforms when carried only gave a vantage ground from which fresh changes might be demanded. It was acknowledged that the distribution of the revenues by which the clergy were supported was absurd and indefensible, the salaries of bishops varying from £1,500 to £20,000; that pluralities were wrong; that non-residence was shameful; that the mode in which tithes were paid was productive of strife and other evils. There were many of the Nonconformists (and it was then that the Liberation Society arose) who urged that these and similar evils were irremediable, and that the destruction of the National Church system alone would put an end to them. There were clericalists who desired to restore the Convocations, which had been in abeyance for more than 100 years, and to have the required changes made only at the discretion of the clergy. But there were some also who as nationalists urged that the Christian commonwealth should take the whole matter in hand, and adapt the Church system to the requirements of the whole body of Christians in England.

Out of the mass of Church Reform literature of those days two pamphlets stand out pre-eminent; that of Lord Henley,¹ which advocated the erection of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and that of Dr. Arnold,² which

¹ "A Plan of Church Reform," by Lord Henley. Brooks and Vary, 31, Strand, 1832.

² "Principles of Church Reform," by Thomas Arnold, D.D. 4th Ed. Fellowes, 1833.

pointed the way to the larger reform on the national basis.¹

Dr. Arnold, after deprecating the idea that the mere adjustment of revenues and similar changes in detail will meet the needs of the nation, urges that the aim must be comprehensive on the basis of nationalism. He goes on to say: "The most essential step towards effecting this and any improvement in the Church, consists in giving to the laity a greater share in its ordinary government. The bishop," he remarks, "stands alone in his diocese, the minister in his parish; and so little are the laity associated with them officially in their operations, that the very word Church has lost its proper meaning, and is constantly used only to express the clerical members of it. The worst consequence of this is the unchristian distinction thus created between the clergy and the laity, to the equal injury of both." The bishops, therefore, he considers (of whom there should be one in each large town) should have diocesan councils, and the clergy should have parochial councils. All qualified persons should, with the license of the bishop, be able to preach; and those who are now dissenting ministers would be able to take their position freely within the Church system, and would, with lay elders to be chosen in each parish, form the parochial council. The Act of Uniformity should be relaxed, and special changes should be made in

¹ The clericalist tendency had no eminent advocate, though the Oxford movement was then beginning. Its action may be traced, however, in the pages of *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

the formularies, and in subscription to them, to meet the cases of the Quakers, Unitarians, and Roman Catholics. The regular and uniform Church Service should be read but once on Sunday, the other services being conducted freely according to arrangements made in each parish. Thus we should have the prospect of seeing a truly national Church, uniting, with the exception of a handful of extreme Quakers and Roman Catholics, all Christians deserving of the name, and leaving without its pale nothing but voluntary or involuntary ungodliness.

As to the detailed reforms, such as those connected with pluralities, non-residence, and the unequal distribution of revenues, Dr. Arnold desired that they should be effected ; and he maintained that all patronage should be only commendatory, the nominee being subject to the scrutiny of a diocesan board, in whom the final appointment should vest. But he deprecated strongly the idea that in such matters was to be found the true and adequate reform.

Lord Henley's pamphlet, on the contrary, began and ended with these reforms of detail. He proposed the removal of pluralities and non-residence, the creation of a commission to deal with the Episcopal and Capitular revenues, with a view to their efficient management and better distribution ; the foundation of a few more bishoprics, the vesting of Crown patronage in a committee of ten persons, the commutation of tithes, and other matters of less importance.

Almost all that Lord Henley proposed has been

effected. The tithes were commuted ; the Ecclesiastical Commission was set on foot with immense advantage to the Church temporalities, the episcopal and capitular estates under their hands having multiplied in value since 1833 ; new bishoprics have been erected ; Bishop Blomfield's Acts of 1840-1 did away with pluralities and non-residence ; the bishop's incomes were regulated, the number of cathedral dignitaries largely diminished, and the surplus of the episcopal and capitular estates was applied to the increase or founding of parochial benefices.

Almost all, on the contrary, that Dr. Arnold proposed, has been left undone. We must not undervalue the practical reforms which were effected ; but the result has been very much what Dr. Arnold feared and expressed in the preface to his pamphlet. "The natural tendency of mankind to reform by patching rather than effectually, gives great reason to fear that some one or other of these plans [such as Lord Henley's, which he mentions] will be adopted, and that the matter will then be considered by the Government to be set at rest : whereas, in fact, it will not be at rest, but will be agitated more than ever, and with less hope of a permanent settlement ; because one party will be exasperated at what they call a mere mockery of reform, and the other will complain that their concessions have given no satisfaction."

It need not be supposed that the practical reforms have given no satisfaction. Every one must view with satisfaction the greater power for good which results from these reforms in the parochial system, and must wish to

see them completed by dealing with patronage (in a way not unlike that proposed by Dr. Arnold). But it is certain that the unrest which he speaks of must go on, and ought to go on, so long as the Church system ministers to exclusiveness and division among Christians. For while this clericalist position of the Church system lasts, the Church of England is little more than a great sect, and whatever makes its machinery more efficient only adds to the invidiousness of its privileged and dominant position.

Two things contributed to bring about this result. One is that Dr. Arnold himself, and those whom he influenced, showed a certain bitterness, or at least a want of sympathy, towards the Nonconformists. He was so anxious for unity, that he could only think of diversity as legitimate within the acknowledged and specified bounds of the Church system ; and his pamphlet was taken as meaning : "You Dissenters have taken up a position of antagonism which puts you out of court. I show you how an equivalent for what you want may be attained. Let my reforms be made, and then your organizations must fall and your chapels may be pulled down." He did not see how greatly needed the Nonconformist organizations are both for purposes of evangelization and as a critical stimulus to the Church system. Nor did he see that it was possible, and desirable, if his reforms were carried, that all these organizations should work on just as at present, while yet, by the removal of obstacles to the friendly interchange of ministrations, and the cordial

recognition of Nonconformists and the laity in parochial councils and parochial action generally, unity and equality might gradually be brought about. To this may be attributed the fact that his pamphlet met with little or no response from the Nonconformists, and, though it is both sound and practical, has been looked upon as a sort of Utopia, stimulating to thought, but of little practical value.

The other cause which conduced to the same sterile result is the great clericalist movement which at that very time was beginning in Oxford.¹ That movement has had in it all the good and all the evil of clericalism. On the one hand it gave to the clergy a sense of dignity and of unity ; and this has in many cases quickened their zeal and called forth the gratitude and esteem of the nation. But on the other hand it has alienated the progressive and Protestant sections of the nation, it has tended to emasculate the capacities of the laity and of Parliament for Christian action, and has dug deeper the chasm which separates the clergy both from the laity and from the Nonconformists.

Some attempts at Church reform in the nationalist sense resulted from the Reform Act of 1867. The National Church Reform Union was formed, and at its first meeting Mr. Baldwin Brown and Mr. Llewelyn Davies read papers on the interchange of pulpits. Several pamphlets were written, and an excellent volume of *Essays on Church Policy*, to which the chief contributors were Mr.

¹ The first of the "Tracts for the Times" was published in 1833.

Ll. Davies, Prof. Seeley, Dr. Abbott, and Mr. Fowle of Islip; the Parochial Councils Bill was brought in by Lord Sandon (now Lord Harrowby), and accepted by the House of Commons in a second reading; a Commission to inquire into the parochial revenues with a view to their equalization was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Thomas Hughes; and a Bill for occasional services, allowing laymen and Nonconformists on special occasions to preach in the churches, was brought in by Mr. Samuel Morley and Mr. William Cowper (now Lord Mount-Temple). The failure of such measures is due partly to the opposition of the clericalists, partly to the indifference of the Nonconformists; but, it must be plainly stated, is due in a still greater degree to the hostility of Mr. Gladstone, who, throughout his long leadership of the Liberal party, has shown, on all matters of Church reform, not the spirit of a Liberal and a reformer, but that of a favourer of clericalist pretensions. This, however, did not prevent the Church reformers from acting cordially with the Liberal party whenever it could be agreed in a reforming policy, as in the formation of a separate episcopal community in Ireland, instead of the attempt to maintain an alien Protestantism as the Church system of a Roman Catholic nation, the admission of the Nonconformists to the Universities, and the nationalization of the churchyards.

A memorable meeting was held in the beginning of 1872 under the auspices of the Church Reform Union at St. James's Hall, when, under the presidency of the late Lord Lyttelton, the present Bishops of London (Temple) and of

Sydney (Barry), the late Dean Stanley, Canon Miller, and many other well-known persons, advocated the establishment of parochial councils, the abolition of the sale of livings, and other improvements in the Church system. Other sections of the Church were quickened by these movements. The proposals of Church reform were discussed at Church Congresses and on similar occasions with an earnestness bearing a direct proportion to the likelihood of Parliamentary action. In this year 1872, also, a Declaration was adopted by the representatives of the Evangelical clergy meeting at Lord Shaftesbury's house (subsequently signed by 813 persons, including most of the leading clergy of the section from which it emanated), which advocated increased liberty in the use of the Prayer-book services, the abolition of the compulsory recital of the Athanasian Creed, the admission of the laity to Convocation and to power in the parishes, the amendment of Church patronage, and other reforms of detail.¹

It is imagined by some persons that Parliament has ceased to legislate on Church matters : and it was even said by Mr. Forster, eight years ago, that the Church of England was obliged to go on almost without the possibility of reform because it could only be reformed by Parliament, and Parliament could not effectually reform it. But there has probably never been a session of Parliament in which some measure has not been passed for the improvement of the Church system. Even before 1867, the Act

¹ This Declaration is given in the Appendix, p. 217.

modifying the subscription of the clergy to the Prayer-book and Articles was passed. But after 1867, for several years there were projects of many kinds eagerly put forward and with varying success. In one of the Reports of the Church Reform Union, that for 1872, there are enumerated no less than six Acts which had passed that year (though these were fewer than those of the year before), including the Act for the Alteration of the Boundaries of Dioceses ; the Act abolishing baptismal fees ; the Acts providing for the resignation of bishops, and of deans and canons ; the Act allowing of the building of churches without pew rents and dependent on voluntary offerings ; two short Acts relating to the Irish Church ; and, finally, the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act, which gives great facilities for the freer use of the Church services. All these were Acts of a single year. Parliament also found time in the same session to discuss eight other measures, including the Occasional Sermons Bill, the Union of Benefices Bill, Mr. Salt's Public Worship Facilities Bill, and Mr. Morgan's Burials Bill ; and also the proposals of Mr. Miall and Mr. T. Hughes for an inquiry into the amount and distribution of parochial revenues. Nor has Parliament in subsequent years refused to legislate. Even in the session of 1885, broken as it was by the change of Government, and filled up by the Seats Bill and the Irish and Egyptian difficulties, Parliament, besides other minor Church Acts, passed one measure of great importance, the Pluralities Act Amendment Act introduced by Mr. C. Acland, which was in

effect a somewhat stringent law for enforcing the discipline of the clergy. Even in the Session of 1887, when most ordinary legislation was in abeyance, four Acts were passed for the improvement of the Church system.

It may be useful to expand this statement and to show how much, during the reforming period from 1832 to the present day, Parliament has done by legislation for the improvement of the Church system. The Acts relating to Church affairs passed during that period amount to 229, or more than four annually. Some of these are, no doubt, of slight importance, and some are Acts of repeal. But the substantial results are very considerable. The whole system of tithes has been altered, some being commuted for glebe land, and the rest paid according to the corn averages, while a fresh arrangement has been adopted as to Extraordinary Tithe in 1886; pluralities have been abolished; the discipline of the clergy has been enforced in three important Acts, those of 1841, of 1874, and of 1885. The final appeal in Ecclesiastical causes has been transferred from the Court of Delegates to the Privy Council, and various changes in the Judicial Committee of Council have been effected. The Ecclesiastical Commission has been founded; and by its action under successive statutes the episcopal and capitular incomes have been regulated, and by the substitution of rent for beneficial leases a large amount of income has been restored to Church purposes, and has been used in the endowment of poor parishes. Queen Anne's Bounty

has been remodelled and made more serviceable; the Home Episcopate has been reinforced by the foundation of seven new bishoprics (two more being almost provided for), and the Colonial Episcopate has received a vast expansion through laws either founding or giving facilities for founding bishoprics. The disabilities of the Colonial and the Scotch Episcopalian clergy have been removed. Facilities have been given for the resignation of bishops, and of both the cathedral and parochial clergy. Ecclesiastical dilapidations have been regulated. Act after Act has been passed to facilitate the building of churches and the formation and endowment of new parishes. Greater freedom has been given in the use of the Prayer-book by the Shortened Services and the Burials Acts, and the Prayer-book itself has been improved by the new Table of Lessons. Lastly, the Church system itself has been enlarged and made more profitable to the nation by the Registration Act, the Act which provides that the clergy in Wales shall know the Welsh language, the Private Chapels Act, and the Acts for the modification of clerical subscriptions, the admitting of Dissenters to the Universities, and the free use of the burial-grounds.

This legislation, which has in many essential points altered and improved the Church system, is spread pretty evenly over the whole reforming period, though it has been quickened by the successive Reform Acts. It has, indeed, been imputed to the Nonconformist members of the House of Commons that they have

resisted reforms in order that the Church system, being laden with abuses, may be more readily dealt with according to the plans of the Liberation Society. But the Nonconformist members have offered the most positive denial to this: they have, it is believed, voted for all, or almost all, the reforms just enumerated; they have not hesitated at times to propose reforms, as in the cases of Mr. S. Morley's Occasional Sermons Bill and Mr. Leatham's Church Patronage Bill: and in the discussion of this latter measure in 1886, they emphatically acknowledged their responsibility for the welfare of the Church system so long as it remains under the direction of the national legislature.

This review of Church Reform in the past may help us to form a judgment as to the schemes of reform now being urged upon the country.¹

The clericalist proposals to give powers to Convocation, or to some other body representing the Church apart from the nation, from whatever quarter they come, must evidently, if carried into law, have the effect of increasing our divisions; for they begin with making the distinction of churchmen and non-churchmen, a distinction which at once converts the Church into a sect with interests apart from those of the nation. Such a distinction cannot be made in England without injustice; and it must inevitably tend to the increase of clerical power: and this tendency

¹ See the three principal schemes of Reform, representing the three tendencies here described, set out and compared in Appendix II., pp. 201-207.

would evidently be increased by the formation of a national Synod, or union of the two provincial convocations ; nor would it be diminished by the House of Laymen, which owes its institution to clerical initiation alone, and which (as must be clear to all who know the method of its election) is in no valid sense a representation of the laity.

The separatist or sectarian tendency must be credited with a genuine desire for Church reform ; but its plans (those of the Liberation Society) as once more set forth by Mr. Carvell Williams and Mr. Richard in their recent volume on Disestablishment in this Series, could not be carried into effect without great injustice, and such a revolutionary energy as it is quite beyond the needs of the case : they would also issue, as far as it is possible to forecast such matters, in the increase both of clericalism and sectarianism, by the creation of a vast clericalist sect endowed with a large amount of national property ; and thus would frustrate the very ends which their sincere promoters have most at heart.

The nationalist plans, on the contrary, give power to the laity (including the Nonconformists) within the Church system. Through the free interchange of ministrations which they advocate, they admit of the recognition of spontaneous efforts unconnected with the parochial system, while they preserve the national inheritance to the people themselves. By the abolition of subscription they freely invite earnest men into the ministry, and by facilitating the interchange of pulpits and allowing the free

action of all in parochial councils and the gradual abolition of the Act of Uniformity, they make for equality and seek to roll back the wrongs of two hundred years. They open the door by which the English people may adapt the Church system, like their other institutions, to the local and general needs of the country; and they provide a channel by which the increasing mutual goodwill of the various sections of our common Christianity may flow in a united stream to quicken the life of the nation.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRACTICAL PROGRAMME OF REFORM.

It has not been difficult in the preceding chapters to exhibit once again, what every epoch of English history shows, the importance, actual and potential, of the great National Institution for the maintenance of righteousness which our fathers have built up in the parishes of England.

We have, too, made a confession of its shortcomings. But we have entered our protest—asking a Nonconformist to speak for us—against the policy of destruction. It is always possible to make an end of a disorder by slaying the patient; but in dealing with institutions, such a policy is not statesmanship but barbarism. “In vain,” exclaimed Burke, when lamenting the overthrow of the ecclesiastical corporations of France, “shall a man look to the opportunity of making such things when he wants them. . . . He is not deserving to rank high, or even to be mentioned in the order of great statesmen, who, having the command and the direction of such a power as existed in the wealth, the discipline, and the habits of such corporations as those which you have rashly destroyed, cannot find

any way of converting it to the great and lasting benefit of his country. . . . Your politicians do not understand their trade, and therefore they destroy their tools." We urge that our times may not thus cower beneath the stigma of all future history. We cannot admit that a Church which now compels no man's service, which holds neither worshipper nor minister against their will within its fold, retains any of those elements of intolerable oppressiveness against which the champions of "liberation" inveigh. They are out of date—blind to the *facts* of their times. They tilt with eighteenth-century weapons against the ghost of an ecclesiastical tyranny which their own fathers and ours long since combined to overthrow.

None the less we have been forward to assert the need of comprehensive measures of Church reform. To withstand the fuller comprehension of the religious forces of the nation, to make no provision for greater freedom of worship and stricter purity of system, is to court the policy of destruction. Even the more conservative Churchmen who deny this, admit it in their hearts. But we all stand by and see this vast and incomparable national institution drifting to the cataracts, in a general vague impression that before the crisis comes something will be done which will avert it. As to what that something should be, most men's thoughts still remain without form and void.

It is not difficult to recount the obstacles to any comprehensive proposals for Church reform. Most

Churchmen do not care for comprehension, for they are satisfied and in possession. They are bound, alike by habit, affection, and piety to the Church as it is. Then the rank and file of the Nonconformists lend no help, for they are still warped by a traditional bitterness against the institution identified with their fathers' sufferings, and have so long argued against public recognition and endowment of religion, that they cannot all at once perceive that the evils they attack were the accidents, not the essentials of a National Church, nor appreciate how the battle-ground has shifted. Themselves building up endowments, they condemn the endowments of the Church, which differ from their own solely in their greater magnitude and antiquity. They carry their own trust deeds before the law courts, yet reprove the State control which enforces the duties of a clergyman. Nevertheless, we may anticipate that, where grievances have been remedied, the prejudice will gradually disappear. The Nonconformists have now no important grievance left. If any injurious survival of repressive legislation is pointed out, its early removal is assured; and we would wish to be foremost in removing it. Their great latent claim, the right to minister and worship within their parish churches, they do not for the present assert; and (apart from speculations as to the Scriptural basis of voluntarism which could form no basis for practical legislation) they have no firm ground for claiming the destruction of the Establishment, until they have made that claim and it has been refused.

Another chief obstacle to Church reform lies in the difficulties which beset the action of Parliament. The people have the power, through their representatives in Parliament, to deal with the question, but they have not the opportunity. It is not only made impossible by the chaotic condition into which Parliamentary business has fallen, but by the disinclination of the party of progress to do anything to increase the utility of the Church, and also by the confusion which exists in men's minds between questions of ecclesiastical administration and problems of theology. Churchmen resent the intervention of a secular authority, forgetful of the fact that the secular authority can no longer presume to define what is orthodox or to bias opinion. It merely prescribes conditions and regulations under which certain ancient foundations shall be used by those who desire to use them. So also the Nonconformists, having been compelled in their long battle with their disabilities to make Voluntaryism, and the absolute separation of religion from the State, articles of their creeds, confuse the great cause of "Freedom of Conscience" with "Freedom from State-control;" and, partly from jealousy, partly from principle, are averse to all legislation on ecclesiastical topics. But in fact, while "freedom of conscience" has been won by their efforts, and can never be again so much as questioned, "State control" of necessity springs up whenever there is a gift, or a bequest, or a trust, or an office, or a contract; and the only difference in principle between the Non-

conformist churches and the Establishment, is that Nonconformist trusts are modern and are defined and controlled by deeds, whilst the Church trusts are both ancient and modern, and are defined and controlled by both deeds and Parliamentary statute. For some even of the Nonconformist trusts it was found necessary to invoke Parliamentary action in the Dissenters' Chapels Bill of 1844.

We admit, however, amongst the forces which Church reformers have to overcome, one far more formidable than either the exclusiveness of Churchmen, the short-sightedness of Dissenters, or the difficulties which beset the action of Parliament, because more particularly germane to our time—the spirit of political helplessness. The man of progress of the present day often lacks the intelligence and the energy to reform and reconstruct. Amputation is the only surgery which he can appreciate. He is impatient, and disposed, like a petulant mechanic, to smash his machine directly it gets out of order. Until that spirit of helplessness is met and disciplined, not only the Church, but the whole fabric of the nation stands in hazard.

It would be impossible to discuss profitably any proposals for Church reform without a strict understanding of the limits within which such proposals are confined. "Church Reform" is capable of as many interpretations as the word "Church." We deal but with one of them.

The Church of England stands in common talk for two quite different things: first, for our concrete Estab-

lishment or church system, with its buildings, revenues, and parochial organization ; and secondly, for the Anglican communion with its doctrine and worship, which is by Parliamentary statute associated with the Establishment. The one is an outward matter ; the other is a spiritual matter : and the principles upon which either must be upheld not only are distinct, but fall into wholly different spheres of thought and argument. They are religious questions both of them : but the one is handled by the Christian politician, the other by the student of Church history and theology. Here we speak solely of the former. For our present purpose the "National Church of England" means the Church system, and particularly the parochial system, the public provision for the promotion of righteousness amongst the English people ; and this implies chiefly the time-honoured allotment of the whole country into parishes, the assignment to each parish of a public minister, supported chiefly by endowments and owing service to every inhabitant, together with the buildings provided in each parish for worship and for teaching. The resources on which this Church system rests are, with few exceptions, derived from voluntary benefactions either past or present, which have been appropriated from their earliest origin to separate localities ; but they are regulated as to their use by Parliamentary statute and the judgments of the law courts.

In this sense the Establishment is not a faith any more than an almshouse is philanthropy, or a hospital

the science of medicine. It is an instrument—an institution—the national provision, ubiquitously localized, for the promotion of righteousness. It is not national property in the sense that the fleet is, or the Houses of Parliament ; but, like a workhouse or a Board School, it is the possession of particular districts for a particular purpose. This purpose is the righteousness of the parish ; and the authority of the State in Church matters can now be justified and demanded on one ground only : —not upon the assumption that the State is qualified to discover or to dictate the *true* forms of worship or of doctrine—but upon its responsibility to make such regulations as regards this national institution as may from time to time promise the greatest benefit to the people.

We must charge therefore our statesmen with their responsibilities as regards practical measures of Church reform, whilst we deny to the State from the outset all authority and restrictive power in matters of conscience. We uphold the principle of an Establishment for the higher moral education without desiring either to prejudice or to depreciate the voluntary agencies ; just as we defend the universal and systematic State-supported organization of elementary education without antagonism to the free growth of self-supporting schools. We hold a brief in favour of no single ecclesiastical system. We deny Divine right and infallibility to each and all of them. On the other hand, we approach the questions of practicable organic change with none of that resentment

against national control which animates the more sectarian or sacerdotal forms of religion.

We accept the will of the people as the ultimate controller of the property and the rights of the Church, and indeed of all endowments, including those of Nonconformists. If we ask for more liberty in certain directions, we shall ask for a control somewhat closer in others. There is no endowed religious communion in which the authority of the State is so little effective as it is in the Establishment, to protect its corporate property and to enforce its application to the trusts on which it is held. In this particular the State controls the Nonconformist bodies more effectively and more beneficially than it at present controls the Church ; and Church reformers will ask from the State for a clearer definition of those Trusts for the parishioners upon which clergy and patrons in the Church hold their privileges, and for a more peremptory enforcement of them.

The sole points for the Church reformer to consider would be:—(1) What are the just causes for the hostility or indifference felt by many towards an institution which thus lies at their service, and what are the remedies for them ;

(2) What legislation as to the National Church will better promote the elevation of individual character, kindle a higher sense of duty towards God and mankind, and most conduce to personal righteousness and active philanthropy in English parishes ;

(3) What form of parochial organization will direct

the forces of the National Church most practically to the welfare of the people ;

(4) What is necessary to prevent injustice to the Anglican ministry, Anglican congregations, and Anglican benefactors, and injury to the work, immense even if inadequate, which they discharge.

The central fact to which the eye of the reformer must be directed is that the National Church has, owing to *political* causes, been deprived of its natural power of growth. During the Reformation period the Church displayed the same capacity for adaptation as the Constitution. But in the days of the great clerical assault upon the liberties of England in the reigns of the earlier Stuarts, the political existence of our forefathers and their ecclesiastical system were inextricably interwoven : their tenets became part of their constitution. The Elizabethan legislation was revived bodily in the blind and hurried reaction of the Restoration : and when in later days the nation found no insuperable difficulty in remodelling the political constitution to meet modern conditions, the fever of theological controversy and the traditions of past intolerance left us so morbidly sensitive on ecclesiastical questions that Parliament has shrunk from dealing with some of the most obvious Church problems.

Nevertheless a fixed and inelastic uniformity, such as that which Parliamentary statute has insisted on in the use of the parish churches, has been only a bad exception in the twelve hundred years of our Church history ; and

what is far more exceptional is the separation which has in consequence grown up between the national institution and a large part of the religious life of the nation. The danger to be met to-day is that whilst religious growth continues far more vigorously than ever, the National Church has temporarily lost the power of expansion needed to embrace it. The restoration of this power must be the fundamental aim of Church reform.

When we come to seek a principle of action, the experience of religious history teaches us to trace the success of a church or its failure to the degree of sympathy which exists between its organization, and the spontaneous growths of human society which are found in existence at its side. The piety of each age needs to weave itself new garments to replace those which have lost their effectiveness. Religions must appeal to the whole of man, to every faculty and gift and aspiration he possesses, and consequently religious systems need above all things to reflect the political, social, and intellectual life of successive generations. Faith has been most vital and most ennobling at the epochs when this reflection has been most absolute and complete. There is no standing still in the development of churches. There is no perfect model either in the past or the present, no ideal form which has once to be set up and then maintained for ever. The church whose first object is to sustain itself unchanged, breaks with the future through a wrong reverence for the past.

But in diagnosing the weakness of our own national

system, we need not even have recourse to the general principle. There before our eyes lies proof patent of the causes of the Church's weakness in the success of the spontaneous systems of the Nonconformists, from the elaborate and sober methodical self-government of the middle-class Wesleyans, down to the simpler system of the Congregationalists, and even to the fervid militarism of the Salvation Army. The Nonconformists may not have half the numbers, but they have at least half the piety and the energy of the nation in their ranks, and they have it because they satisfy the nineteenth-century instincts which the Church excludes, the instincts for self-government and organization, for congregational responsibility, for individual activity, for liberty of prophesying.

That the National Church remains foremost among religious organizations, and retains its hold upon so many millions of the population, is a proof (and this must never be forgotten) of the spiritual efficiency of the parochial system, and testifies also that, in spite of shortcomings in these directions, it does satisfy other powerful instincts of our time—the reverence for the past, the aspiration after order, dignity, and beauty, the still inspiration of noble words and ceremonies hallowed by long use and veneration. No true reformer can lend himself to shatter these tendencies that make for righteousness, or lightly sweep them away merely to make trial of others in a passing fit of restlessness or impatience. Their intrinsic value and their hold upon the people arrest us on the threshold of any proposal of

reform which would exclude them from the National system. We must seek such reforms as will increase the efficiency of the Church as it is, yet introduce elements which may satisfy those social forces which at present express themselves in Nonconforming communions.

The lines of progress which have been laid down in this volume will have indeed suggested the necessity of something more radical than the mere reform of details within the Church as it is. Yet this is the first and obvious step, and it is well as a commencement to be alive to all that has been done in our times in this direction and all that is now afoot.

First and foremost comes the abolition of that nefarious traffic in advowsons and next presentations which has grown up through a most injurious conversion of a trust into a property. The late Royal Commission has reasserted the principle that Church patronage is a *trust* to be exercised primarily in the interests of the parishioners, not a property to be turned to the monetary profit of the patron. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Bill, which passed the House of Lords in the session of 1887, went far to prevent the more obvious abuses which the present interpretations of the law courts make possible; but it failed to recognize the root principle—that the parochial revenues and Church property are the possession of the *parish*, not of the patron nor of the parson, nor even of the professing Churchmen of the parish, and that the interests of the parishioners must claim to override all others. The Archbishop's Bill will

doubtless tend to suppress ecclesiastical scandals. It endeavours to ensure the "fitness" of any purchaser of patronage; to prevent the purchase of an advowson for the benefit of any individual clergyman; to exclude the presentation of clergymen disqualified by extreme youth or age, physical infirmity, pecuniary embarrassment or evil report.

Such provisions are of value, but they do not secure the rigorous exercise of the trust of patronage in the interests of the rightful beneficiaries; they do not attack the scandalous state of law which has led to the trustee's pecuniary interest in his trust being valued at five to ten years' purchase of the parish ecclesiastical income; they do not ensure, after all, that sympathy between the parson and the parishioners which is the first object of a Church reformer.

No judicious person will deny the advantages of presentation by a responsible patron, or foresee anything but confusion in its abolition to make way for popular election. But the interests of the parishioners must be secured, either by a co-patron appointed by them, or by a right of veto vested in them. There is an ancient constitutional principle of "appointment from above, confirmation from below." If it is the privilege of the patron to present, it is the right of the parishioners to confirm. The present systems of patronage, with all their practical advantages, will remain indefensible, until the paramount interests of the parishioners have been recognized by lodging a *statutory veto* either with them, or their repre-

sentatives on a Church Board, or with some authority (such as a Diocesan Patronage Board) acting in their interests.

As often happens, the existence of such a "constitutional check" would in the vast majority of cases avert all necessity for its exercise. The patron would himself take pains to present a minister acceptable to the parish in his character and practice, and the Church would be saved from the strain and dislocation which now at times arises from the appointment of a minister who is out of all sympathy with the work and teaching of his predecessor. It would be necessary, as a security against any unjustifiable obstruction, to provide that, after three presentations had been rejected, a *locum tenens* for five or seven years should be appointed, without challenge, by the bishop or the Diocesan Patronage Board.

Such a recognition of the underlying rights of the parishioners would remedy, more certainly than any legislative restrictions, abuses which have been connected with the sale of next presentations and advowsons. The possible veto of the parishioners would effectively deprive the former of all commercial value. The purchase of advowsons by next-presentation brokers, or for the advancement of individual clergymen, would cease of itself, and no further necessity would arise for those more radical proposals in which the practical advantages of the present mixed system of public and private patronage would disappear.

Another important point to which a great deal of

attention has been directed is the readjustment of the parochial system to meet the tremendous movement and expansion of population, which has been the characteristic of this generation. The magnificent efforts to reorganize the modern social chaos on the parochial basis which the Church Building Acts initiated, and of which the Bishop of London's and the Bishop of Manchester's Funds are typical expressions, remain after all as the greatest missionary achievement of any Church. The return ordered by Parliament, on the motion of Lord Hampton, shows that in the years 1840-74 the sum of £25,548,703 was spent by voluntary efforts on the building and restoration of cathedrals and parish churches; and in this return no account is taken of sums under £500. It is estimated that since 1874 a further sum of £20,000,000 has been raised for Church fabrics, that a million and a quarter sterling is now annually subscribed for Church building and restoration alone, and that the total annual voluntary contribution of the people to the National Church amounts to at least £2,000,000.

The changed conditions thus created have in turn rendered expedient a considerable *mobilization* of *Church revenues*. Wide reforms have already been effected in this direction through the agency of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who have diverted £754,000 per annum, which otherwise would have gone to Church dignitaries or to private persons, to the endowments of churches for the new populations. They have also elicited for the same

purpose benefactions from private sources amounting to £180,000 per annum.

We would not, however, endorse the demand somewhat hastily made for a general equalization of incomes. In view of the large number of clergy possessing private means who are both able and willing to serve their generation without any substantial ecclesiastical income, and in view also of the diversities of gifts and responsibilities, such a measure would be most unwise. At present, also, the alleged vested rights of the private patron are a practical barrier to the free mobilization of revenues. But, without attempting to proportion work and remuneration with ideal justice, an effort should be made to abate the flagrant anomalies at present existing. Possibly a fund might be raised by the graduated taxation of the richer and easier benefices from which the stipends of the clergy who are labouring in poor districts should be augmented after certain years of ministry. Possibly some further reduction of the cathedral establishments might be made to supply the Common Fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Yet a still better use for such resources might be found, if the chapters could once more be made, as of old, the centre of missionary effort for the diocese.

The necessities of the modern expansion of the parochial system compel us at this point to consider the Church reformer's attitude towards an increasingly important, but oft-abused source of clerical income—pew rents. To some of the staunchest upholders of the Establishment there is nothing more obnoxious than this custom, which

has nevertheless been the mainspring of recent church extension in newly built urban neighbourhoods. The "Free and Open Church Association" has been formed especially to abolish it, and indeed the system of pew rents cannot on the surface commend itself to any one who, as a Church reformer, has in the forefront of his view the interests of the poor in their National Church.

Even if the experience of voluntary denominations shows pew rents to be compatible with the highest congregational activity, one point is clear. Where adequate endowments exist, there pew rents are indefensible. They would not merely be inexpedient, they would be a positive injustice to the poor in the case of an old parish church in full possession of the tithe and land consecrated to the service of the parish. Such churches are primarily homes of the poor, and no one can rightly gainsay the claim of the poor to have them kept free and open for ever. If for convenience the seats are allotted, they must be allotted fairly by the representatives of the people. On the other hand, where endowments are inadequate or non-existent, the Church is to that extent semi-voluntary or wholly voluntary, and then it is not for the law to interfere. Not the less, however, where endowments, though inadequate, do exist, the rights of the poor must be recognized in some proportion to them.

Meanwhile, in connection with the question of parochial revenues we must not forget how seriously older sources of income have been threatened, and how exceptional a strain has been accidentally thrown upon the Church

system through the discontent arising from recent economic changes in the position of agriculture. That there is any injustice in the form of property known as the Tithe Rent Charge, or in its appropriation by past benefactors to the Church, we may not admit; but there is much in the present incidence of it which is needlessly harassing.

The Tithe Rent-Charge Bill introduced in 1887 by the Government aimed at avoiding all strained relations between parson and parishioner by throwing the payment of tithe upon the landlord, by abolishing distress, by providing for an equitable reduction when the land has not produced the value of the tithe charged upon it, and above all by the facilitation of tithe-redemption at twenty years' purchase. A companion measure proposed to facilitate the sale of glebe-lands, so as to relieve the incumbent from the anxiety dependent on such a source of revenue, and also to provide allotments for the labouring classes.

We have perhaps sufficiently indicated the chief lines of practical reform in the parochial system, both in the methods of appointing the clergy and also in the methods of maintaining them. The system, however, could never be accepted as satisfactory without the introduction of an effective discipline for the control and removal of black sheep among the clergy.

Until legislation of recent date, two converging tendencies had secured for the beneficed minister a position of irresponsibility, which though very generally

modified by his own good feeling, was potentially full of danger. On the one hand, the decay of ecclesiastical discipline left the minister practically free from archidiaconal and episcopal control; on the other, the tendency of the law-courts to convert all feudal tenures into freeholds has made the incumbent the freeholder of the *beneficium* which he historically receives on *tenure* of discharging certain duties towards his parishioners. The result is that the criminous, incompetent, immoral, or law-breaking minister, was all but inassailable, and even now is removable only with great difficulty and at great expense to the bishop of the diocese. From time to time the whole parochial system is discredited by the spectacle of a minister who is legally maintained in his position, though he neglects his duties or disgraces his calling by vice, or alienates his parishioners by bigotry, illegality, or self-will. Church reformers look forward to the statutory erection of some authority, not open to the objections which may be raised against the present ecclesiastical courts, empowered to act, in such cases, upon any authorized representation from parishioners, and to dismiss summarily from their position the criminous, disreputable, or incompetent clergy.

The Pluralities Act Amendment Act of 1885, has done something in this direction; but far more is required. The position of those who occupy high posts in the Civil Service, or of County-Court judges, may show us by analogy how public posts like those

of the beneficed clergy may be held "during good behaviour," and in the interests of the public, without undue interference with a proper independence.

Such administrative reforms as these only wait for "somebody to take them up" and force them through our jaded and unwieldy legislature. The reformer will hail, as it comes, every step which tends to make the National Church more effective and less mistrusted. That such matters have not been dealt with before is due in great measure to the timidity and lack of statesmanship in the episcopal bench, which has too seldom justified its foothold in Parliament by initiating even the merely administrative reforms which the conscience of the Church demanded. It has unfortunately been against the political interests of the party to which we look for progress to make the Church more serviceable to the nation. Important reforms in patronage, for instance, might have been carried in the Parliament of 1880, but for the obstruction of the Church's enemies; and amongst the whole Liberal party only a small section have been clear-sighted and generous enough to break away from the anti-Church party on this great question of the perfecting of a national institution. Now, however, with a Conservative Ministry in power, there are signs of some serious attempts to deal with the evils which have so long formed the pabulum of the Liberationists.

Yet such measures, however worthy of sympathy and support, will not restore the Church to the People, nor

the People to the Church. They might be steadfastly pursued until the whole ministry and the whole organization presented not a single scandal or grievance upon which hostility could seize ; and yet, if no breadth or power of growth were restored, the highest forces of national piety and enthusiasm might be in the end arrayed against the Church. Reform has to cope not only with the administrative defects, but with the limitations of the National Church.

The wrongness of maintaining a national Church less wide than the national Christianity was, as is well known, a constant sting to the Churchmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They differed as to the means of comprehension—some being for compelling the whole nation to accept the Church as it was, others seeking those compromises of doctrine and system which would expand its borders to the breadth of the national conscience. The equal stubbornness and equal self-satisfaction of all parties rendered all such methods impossible, and men at length drifted away from the craving for unity into an acceptance of toleration. It is, however, only for the last two or three generations that the search after reunion has ceased to be active in the minds of Christians.

The most striking effort of our own times to revert to this earlier policy of comprehension is the Burials Act of 1880, the most righteous and beneficial measure of ecclesiastical legislation since the Restoration, which has overridden in death the sectarian exclusiveness

which still prevails in life, and has reconsecrated the parish churchyard, even before the parish church, to the idea of Christian unity.

Nothing has done more in our time to uphold the parochial system than this recognition of the right of the Nonconformists within the churchyard. And there could be no wiser or more logical step than to grant to them further the rights to be baptized and married by their own ministers in the parish churches, and certainly no step more consonant with English Christianity. There can indeed be little doubt that it is only a matter of time for the principle of the Burials Act to commend itself to the religious feeling of Englishmen as the true road to the solution of the Church question upon the lines of Christian charity and comprehension.*

* It might appear to some that notice should be taken of the scheme promulgated by Dr. Martineau and others, the outlines of which will be found in the Appendix (p. 219). That scheme is, shortly, to fix the existing denominations within their present lines, to give them all a share in the ancient endowments, and to establish a federal union between them. We may observe, however, that the proposal is still in a very crude state. It has no sufficient relation to the practical conditions of the Church unit, the parish; and, while establishing a theoretical unity, it makes no provision for united action of the members of various communions in each locality. It aims at a federation of sects instead of union in common Christian life. It would be impossible here to discuss its details, but we have thought it right to call attention to its principle, both for its own sake, and on account of the high authority of its supporters, of whom many are Nonconformists. At least it is a proof of the widespread existence of that modern liberality of feeling and of that craving for conservative religious reunion within a national organization, which the current political theory of the day is accustomed to deny.

The proposals of the National Church Reform Union are the modern expression of this aspiration for comprehension and unity.¹ The underlying objects of its action are :—

(1) *To bring the National Church into closer sympathy with the people, and to arouse the whole nation to a sense of its privileges within the National Establishment.*

(2) *To maintain the rights of the parishioners in their parish churches, their interest in the parochial endowments, and their claim to be considered first in their administration.*

The root-idea of the Union—local self-government based on parochial representation under a National Church constitution—is the same which gave rise to Dr. Arnold's pamphlet described in the last chapter.²

In the view of the supporters of this movement, the fundamental impediments to the full utility of the Church are : (1) The separation between the laity and the clergy, owing to the concentration of all Church administration in the hands of the clergy. (2) The undue centralization, of which the Act of Uniformity is the typical example ; (3) The difficulty of obtaining without local representation, the legislation necessary to adapt the Church system to modern requirements. And it is their belief that in Church matters as in all other national interests, the secret of popular influence and popular confidence, as well as of effectiveness and vitality, will be found in the resort to a local representative organization.

¹ See these proposals at pp. 20, 21, 201.

² See pp. 104–106.

The old constitutional theory of a parish was that of a little self-governed community in which the inhabitants dwelt under fixed laws, civil and ecclesiastical, but, *subject to those laws*, managed their own affairs and property in their own parish meeting or vestry, of which the parson was the rightful chairman. The parish vestry-meeting is still the source and the representative of all parochial authority; but its powers are now in the main relegated to representatives especially selected from it to undertake special departments of the general interests of the parishioners. Thus the care of the poor, and of the highways, and more recently of education within a district, has been committed to special Boards—Boards of Guardians, Highway Boards, and School Boards, the members of which have special aptitude, or can give special attention to the department which they undertake.

It is now proposed to give statutory powers to the vestry to appoint an analogous "Church Board" to represent the needs and interests of the parishioners in the ecclesiastical organization of the parish.

The Church Boards Bill provides that, in parishes which may at any time adopt the Church Boards Act, a Board elected (precisely as churchwardens now are) by the parishioners¹ shall decide upon any change pro-

¹ In new town parishes where the church is in fact dependent on voluntary congregational contributions, contributing members of the congregation would probably have rights analogous to those of parishioners in old parish churches. To provide against an apprehended danger that parishioners antagonistic to the work and worship

posed, whether by the minister or by the parishioners, in the services and ministrations of the church, in the vestments worn, in the arrangements for seating the congregation, in the lights, ornaments, decorations, furniture, or fittings of the church; in the administration of the parochial funds, and in all the work of the parish. An appeal to the bishop is provided to protect the incumbent from caprice, illegality, or factiousness in the Church Board; but, where the bishop approves the desires of the parishioners, the incumbent must conform to them, under the ultimate penalty of deprivation.

The operation of the Public Worship Regulation Act is excluded from parishes which adopt the Church Board. The possibly factious opposition of two or three "aggrieved parishioners" is thus extinguished. They will be listened to only through their parochial representatives: and the incumbent who carries both his bishop and his parish with him will be free to develop his ministrations in every way that may be beneficial to his parish, subject to the general law. It is also proposed that the Church Board should be the authority to take the initiative, as above suggested, against any clergyman whose conduct is injurious to morality or religion, and that it should possess that parochial veto upon presentations which has already been indicated as the most direct remedy for such abuses as adhere to any system of

of the Church will seek and obtain election, it is proposed by some supporters of the Church Boards Bill that persons elected shall sign a declaration of good faith.

Patronage. The Board would decide on the new arrangements consequent on any alteration of the Act of Uniformity; it would also take charge of the ecclesiastical property and finances.

The Church Boards Bill is a permissive measure. The Act will not take effect in any parish until demanded by a majority of the parishioners assembled in Vestry; and it will not therefore interfere with any districts to which it is judged to be unsuited, nor where the existing parochial organization or the present relationships between the pastor and his parish are felt to render it superfluous.

This is the first stage in the programme of reform—to call in the parishioners to give their “counsel and consent” in the administration of the Church as it is. Even this would at any rate avert the whole class of parochial grievances and heart-burnings arising out of the autocracy which, in the decay of hierarchical discipline, has fallen to the share of the clergy.

But the principle of the Church Board once established, much more might come of it. The powers of the Board would be extended to the charities and institutions of the parish. It is confidently anticipated that the clergy will perceive how greatly their hands would be strengthened by appealing spontaneously to the Church Board, even in matters which would still be fitly reserved to their discretion and initiative. There need be no fear that the proper spiritual influence of the clergy would be in any way impaired. The Church Board would have no power

to encroach upon the legal position of the parson, nor authority to dictate to him an iota of his opinions or his teaching : in spiritual matters the incumbent would be as free as he is at present.

A church needs not only to be a teacher of right principles, but a practical guide to right activity. Its work is far from finished when men have been instructed as to their duties in the abstract. It has also to provide the means and the organization, and to be ready to direct men in the charges laid upon them. The English Church at present is fully organized for worship only, and most inadequately for philanthropy. This defect—largely due to the isolated action of the clergy which has left the laity without place or authoritative voice—will be met by the establishment of the Church Board. The Church Board will draw the laity, without distinction of opinion, into the habit of association for every Christian purpose. It will become the recognized arena for the discussion and direction of the Christian work of the parish. Men working upon it will discover how much they have in common, how much liberty of thought and variety of worship is consistent with the fundamental Christianity upon which the National Church of England should rest ; and coming together in that spirit, it will be their instinct to forward every arrangement whereby our existing ecclesiastical system may be developed to satisfy the spiritual necessities of the nation. The Church Board would be the standing assertion of the facts upon which a National Christian Church must rest ; upon the one

hand, that Church work is the work of all, not only of the clergy ; upon the other, that *all* Christian work is done within the Church of Christ, and that our National Church can stand, if it is to stand at all, upon no foundations narrower than those of English Christianity.

Meanwhile, many of the immediate difficulties of the moment, besides those connected with Public Worship, Patronage, and Church Discipline, might be solved by the assistance of this parochial institution. The establishment of Church Boards as part of the national institutions obviously offers a basis for effective and progressive Church government. They would supply a means long desired of ascertaining the views and wishes of Churchmen upon general Church questions. Possibly a National Church Assembly might grow up on these foundations. Possibly also Parliament, which for the future will be more disposed to give liberty to the Church than regulation, would find in the Church Boards, and in the higher bodies arising out of them, the constitutional Authority to which it could gradually surrender the ecclesiastical prerogatives which now embarrass the Legislature.

Timid clergymen have been too fearful that such a parochial institution would be detrimental to their own capacity to serve and instruct their people, but that is not anticipated by the numerous clerical supporters of the Bill. They believe that their influence can never be so useful as when they are thoroughly apprised of the feelings of their parishioners, and what concerns all is best decided by the counsel of all.

Moreover, the existence of such an institution might be expected to solve indirectly the point of Clerical Subscription, so vexing to many men who would willingly serve their generation in the Church. We cannot be right in disowning those high religious influences which are often excluded from the ranks of the clergy by the test of subscription, and also from occasional ministry within the Church by the barriers of Church discipline. So long as the beneficed parson is all but irresponsible, the consciences of the parishioners can only be protected by legal regulations. But the alternative to the rigidity of law is the assent of the people. Let the Church have a constitution built up from the parish's organization, and the State might safely withdraw its statutory enforcement of a too rigid uniformity. The Book of Common Prayer, to which the candidate for holy orders now declares his assent, is based on a collection, and not on a system, of theological propositions, and no clearheaded man can logically or conscientiously assent to the whole collection simultaneously. The only test for orders needed is that a clergyman shall desire to serve God and the people in the Church according to the national ordinances; and the only condition that need be placed on the fullest "liberty of prophesying" in the National Church, and the ready access of ministers of all denominations to the pulpits, is the joint assent of the parishioners and of the minister who is responsible for their religious education.

Such are the lines on which Church reformers would

fain hope to see in no distant future the people returning again to the Church, and the Church expanding again to the people. At the moment many good persons, both inside the Church and outside, will assert the impossibility of such reforms, being incapacitated by the sheer force of a defective education from conceiving of a common religious life which is based primarily upon citizenship, and is not separated off by this dogma and that from the religious lives of other God-fearing men like themselves. Yet it is not the cultivation of antique observances that constitutes the Christian life, though they may be an assistance to it, nor the indulgence of moods of fruitless mysticism, nor the elaboration of our individual morals, if sustained by no less selfish motive than the attainment of a future reward.

... The practical responsibilities which our Christian faith has imposed upon the national conscience, the duties of family, the duties of friendship, the duties of citizenship, the teaching and tending of the poor, the healing of the sick, the care of the aged and destitute, have slipped one by one from the sphere of the religious life, merely because since the Reformation it has unprofitably concentrated itself on the vain pursuit of theological dogma, and the maintenance of one form or another of Church government and public worship. It is now time to escape from these last eddies of the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The modern philanthropic spirit with true Christian inspiration already overpasses such distinctions. Men who would imagine that they owe

it to conscience not to worship God together, nor to countenance what each calls the other's error by uniting in any Christian fellowship, will already work side by side if it is understood that they are engaged on no "religious" object. They will combine to check intemperance and vice, to deliver from famine and from pestilence, to provide for the health and happiness of the poor. But let a religious dogma or observance be involved, and the same Christians will not only separate, but will launch warring missions upon the world to wrangle for sectarian ascendancy—a mark for the Secularist's scorn. There is more Christianity in such philanthropy than in such churchmanship, and we deem that it is now the mission of the National Church to recall the Teaching that "he who is not against us is for us," to shame the egotism of sectarianism by generosity, and to be bound by no coils of human thought, by no dreams of an impossible and valueless uniformity, from enlarging its borders, till they comprehend the whole work of Christ within our land.

In any estimate which we form as to the possibility of future comprehension, we may in the first place reckon upon the early disappearance of that bitter hatred of the Church—the fruit of seeds sown in the days of its domination, which has survived the extinction of its oppressiveness; and, secondly, we must not lose sight of the inevitable effect of modern criticism upon the barriers which have grown up between the various English communions. The ripper appreciation of the Scriptural

books is already dissolving many of the bases upon which our "unhappy divisions" are founded. The time has not yet come for the discovery and recognition of the common and universal factors of religion which will survive the process. Nor is this the place, as was stated at the outset, for the discussion of that side of Church reform. It is sufficient here to take note of this action of criticism upon sectarian controversies, and under such circumstances we may well be content if we can provide merely the channels for Christian reunion. If they exist, the streams so long separated will soon draw together in fullest volume.

Past errors have at least taught the reformer what to avoid. He will *not* dream of effecting reunion either in England or in the wider Christendom by any juggle with terms or definitions. He will *not* aim at any precise uniformity of dogma or worship—or value it greatly if he could attain it. He will *not* undertake the defence of any special system of Church government, except as being adapted to the time and circumstances. His ideal would be to worship God publicly with open doors, constraining no one's attendance, driving none out, and forbidding no man's entry: above all, to unite men in the bond of charity, in the life of righteousness.

We have suggested the measures that seem to Church reformers practicable and effective for gradually restoring the National Church to the more general service of English Christianity. But these proposals are the means and not the ends. The single end is the higher

righteousness of the nation, and the elevation of individual character. In the attainment of this lies the whole destiny of a country based on democracy. We want the Church as the apex of our system of national education. In fact, the acceptance of the Elementary Education Act conceded the principle of Establishment: having recognized the responsibility of the State for the education of its members, we cannot possibly stand still and say that head-learning is the whole sum of what is necessary to make good citizens. We want the ministers of the Church—in its essence and organization a great Socialistic institution—as the centres of social movements in each English parish, as the interpreters to the people of the lofty ideals transmitted in literature and art, and every growing form of human culture, as representatives of Christian civilization somewhat more humane than the Relieving Officer, the Inspector of Nuisances, and the Board School visitor.

We propose no sweeping reconstruction—first, because opinion is unripe as to the end to be attained; secondly, because Parliament is little able, under present conditions, to undertake ecclesiastical legislation; and thirdly, because we see the Church as it is, with all its shackles and shortcomings and limitations, doing genuine good work for the people. We would warn our fellow-countrymen from the folly of risking the loss of the fruits which it yields even now, for any political or ecclesiastical theory whatever.

We introduce the leaven of freedom and representation

which will restore sympathy between the electors and the Church. Whilst this is working, instead of planning the overthrow of the National Institution, let public opinion, if it is indeed dissatisfied, devote itself to the consideration of what are the duties and the teaching to be demanded from this unparalleled organization, which, once destroyed, can never be restored to the service of the people. If the Anglican clergy prove to fall short of the nation's need, or to stand between the nation and its righteousness, do away with them by all means—when you can find other men to serve the nation with a higher devotion. Remodel or repeal the Act of Uniformity, which regulates our worship, if it stands between the nation and its righteousness. Such changes have been made before in English history. But from all such proposals, schemes for the mere annihilation and spoliation of the National Church stand quite separate.

A medical reformer would be applauded who changed some antiquated treatment in a hospital to meet progressive demands upon its resources, and to give the patients the full advantage of the most modern skill. But if he should make the old-fashioned treatment his argument against all public provision for the relief of sickness, against all hospital endowments and all salaried medical officers, and had no other proposal for the improvement of medical science than to level all hospitals with the ground, he would be regarded either as hopelessly stupid or as hopelessly jaundiced by professional jealousy.

Congregationalism, so far as it implies independent local power and the close social co-operation between the minister and the people, is still, as at the dawn of Christianity, a valuable force in religious life and work. Let us reinforce, therefore, the parochial system with all that is most effective in the congregational. But, unorganized, the forces of Congregationalism prove disruptive and particularist. Therefore, in thus reviving all its valuable elements through the organization of Church Boards, safeguard them by the maintenance of the tradition and organization of the Episcopal Church. The time is past for exacting marks which difference men from their fellows in those who are to take part in Church work. We can rely on natural selection, and can fearlessly recognize that it is sufficient title to a voice and a place in the Church that the claimant cares for it.

Let us look forward into the coming century. Two visions confront us. One a mere blank of vanished resources, of ruined fabrics, of squandered revenues, of lost opportunities, of extinct organization, the vacuum of the older Radicals—heirs to the anti-political Jacobin destructiveness against which the great Liberal, Burke, inveighed. As the alternative, we see the Church of the Reformers, an establishment of which the organization is recognized, its resources cherished, its forces directed by the nation. We perceive the ancient parochial system centering as of old in its venerable church, administered by a consecrated officer; with its dignified and unbroken claim upon the sympathies and respect of the people.

The minister retains the same semi-public position and responsibilities as of yore, but he is no longer artificially separated from his parishioners by the obsolete conditions of irresponsible patronage, of *statutory* tests, and inelastic ritual. No longer is there an exclusion of all ministrations but those of the clergyman, of all prayers but those of the Liturgy. The position of the Church is no longer defined in Parliamentary Acts of Uniformity and the compulsion of the law courts, but in the convictions of the people. Beneath the influence of great religious teachers they mould the Church to their own necessities—in the details by their action in the Church Boards, in the main points by their representatives in a national assembly.

The modernization of our political fabric has been attained by securing to public opinion, as it develops, a hearing and a control through the medium of a representative system. In the ecclesiastical fabric, with like machinery we may anticipate like results. Fearless of the outcome, in full reliance upon the piety and the adaptive sagacity of the English nation, let us surrender the Church to the people to deal with it directly as they will, and make it theirs.

Indeed, it is not a matter of choice. The issue is inevitable. To-day the Legislature listens to echo back the desires of a self-governing people, and the Church system must needs become what the conscience of the nation decides. That conscience is for the moment being worked upon by forces hostile to institutions—by antiquated prejudices against them, by a still untutored

ignorance of their history, effect and value, by attractive shibboleths of "equality," by the repetition of empty battle-cries, by the theory of the Radical pessimist that "whatever is, is bad." Such forces will, we believe, be dissolved by the advent of fuller enlightenment. Yet one thing remains certain—that the Church system must either learn to represent the national conscience in its fullest breadth and liberality, or it will be dealt with by much ruder methods than those commonly understood by the word Disestablishment.

CHAPTER VI.

A NATIONAL CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.

NEW light shines on the homes and lives of the people, and in the light new needs are realized. Sufficient food, "good" wages, and hospital accommodation are seen to be inadequate if the many are to live their highest life. It is to small purpose that a family is provided with meat every day, if the members have no minds with which to enjoy the good and perfect gifts by which God reveals himself; and hospital accommodation is no equivalent for health which is destroyed by the want of air and water in the centres of civilization.

The majority do not thank God for their creation; the children have not the care, the clothing, the air, which, according to the lowest requirement, are held to be necessary, and they are harassed by the dread of the starvation which would follow loss of health, change of trade, or an employer's anger. The wives are robbed of beauty by work which allows no pause for weakness or for weariness; men, women, and children are fed only on crumbs which fall from tables now loaded with knowledge, with interests, and with thoughts.

The poverty of life is manifest as once more rich and poor meet together, and by a thousand contrasts the social question is pressed for solution. Other reforms may for a season occupy men's minds, but deeper than all, and sure at last to overwhelm all, is social reform. Its pressure is evident in the appearance of many new societies—societies for providing open spaces, books, music, and pictures; societies for procuring pensions and doctor's attendance, education, emigration, and entertainment—all these in addition to those which aim at relieving poverty and spreading the gospel.

Societies abound. What is the result of their action? Good, of course, in many instances; but also such confusion, such jealousy, such failure, that the cynic who suggested that the only other necessary was "The society to abolish all other societies," is half justified in his saying.

There is bound to be confusion when, in London, fourteen societies undertake to assist in the emigration of the same people, when rival societies for entertainment profess the same end, when many different bodies are promoting technical education, when church and chapel vie in relieving the same poor. There will probably be jealousy when results are the only measure of success, and when some particular scheme, such as that of temperance or of recreation, is regarded as a panacea. It would not be hard to show that confusion of action and narrowness of aim are bad for the poor, and tend to make earnest efforts a failure. A poor family may get more

money by playing off one society against another, but it will be at the loss of some respect for themselves, and of some respect for those who have pushed their service as hucksters push their wares. A drunkard may by earnest advocates be brought to teetotalism ; but, if by total abstinence he thinks he fulfils the whole duty of man, he is still far off from righteousness.

On account of the failure of "societies," many social reformers are turning to the State as the only instrument by which their aims may be accomplished. The education of the nation was once undertaken by the "denominations," but the people, wearied by their jealousies, conscious of their failure, have now entrusted the duty to the State. For like reasons the Dwellings Act was passed to deal with poverty ; and for like reasons a call is now being raised that the State should undertake the care of the sick. Socialism under one form or another is becoming popular, and many who are most opposed to its schemes may themselves be heard advocating something which is itself socialism. The fact is only another evidence of the pressure which the knowledge of the needs of the poor is exerting on men's minds.

The numberless "societies" and socialism owe their existence to the light which is now thrown on life. The "societies" fail to meet the needs which the light reveals. Is socialism likely to succeed ? Is the State likely to so order the relations of man to man that all men shall have "equality of opportunity," and be within reach of the highest life possible to them ?

State action can undoubtedly do much. It can prevent confusion and jealousy ; it often succeeds where private effort fails. The question, however, remains, "Is there any scheme of socialism proposed which meets human needs?" and the answer is "No." All alike—be they the schemes of Mr. Hyndman and his friends, or those of politicians who limit State interference to national education—fail to touch man as man. They deal with him as if he were moved by only one impulse, and could be satisfied with food or pleasure. The orators of the Democratic Federation declaim against the greed of the rich, and stir up the greed of the poor. The framers of the Education Act offer only the knowledge which pays, and make their grants depend on results. The tendency of the Poor Law is to treat men as animals, who are to be frightened from poverty by the fear of stone-breaking or solitary confinement. In one word, the socialism of the day is not religious ; and, since men from the beginning have cared as much about knowing God as about finding food, it fails. Children of those fathers whose first thought was given to explain the order of the universe, and the mystery of good and evil, cannot be satisfied with schemes which treat them as if they cared for nothing but their bodies.

The failure of State action without religion is illustrated by the failure of the best boards of management to educate children in large separate workhouse-schools. The managers may provide the best food, the best nurses, the best teachers, the best appliances, ample playgrounds, all indeed that can be imagined as necessary to the child life,

and yet they fail to bring out the best that is in the children because they do not give a parent's love. Schemes of socialism which propose, in the same way, to provide the best for the poorest, fail because they do not consider what may be called their spiritual needs.

Men need for their satisfaction that an object should be presented to them which is beyond their grasp, the invisible, the incomprehensible—God. Men are never content with even the highest known morality; they feel they are capable of higher things, and that a higher law exists which they might obey. Religion is the means by which they grasp this higher law. It is by religion that the aspirations of one age become the morality of the next. Schemes, therefore, which are limited by the morality of the day, which present no object beyond men's grasp, which assume no higher justice than that which has hitherto prevailed, and no higher life than that which has hitherto been lived—in a word, schemes of socialism which are not religious, do not meet the needs which cry out to us on all sides.

The State may indeed be the body of Christ in so far as it calls the little children, relieves the poor, releases captives, and preaches freedom; but a State which does not look up to heaven is the body of a Christ who has not been alone with God, and is not conscious of a Father's business. Such a State is a church without a God, and it does not reach men who are children of God. The schemes of socialism at present offered are limited; they none of them appeal to that in a man which he "can

never be but is to God ;" they none of them suggest a future loftier than that of health and wealth. State action seems as little able as the societies to accomplish social reform. The societies fail for want of organization, the State for want of religion. A centre round which the societies might group themselves, and from which religion might emanate, would turn the failure into success ; and such a centre is a National Church.

A National Church is at once an effective charity organization society, and the means of spiritualizing State action. Such a church, however, must be national in fact as well as in name.

The Church of England, according to the views of the dominant parties among the clergy, is little more than a privileged sect, with its own charities and its own aims, and it does not spiritualize legislation. Some of the greatest evils feared from Disestablishment have already taken place, and to most minds it must be clear that the connection of Church and State, as it now exists, does not give a religious sanction to the acts of the State. Law would be as holy and as binding if the bishops were excluded from the House of Lords ; home and foreign policy would be as Christian if the ministers of the Church of England were appointed, judged, and dismissed as are the ministers of the Nonconformist Churches.

The Church of England, in its present condition, cannot be called a national church, and no argument for its success or failure can avail for or against a church truly national.

A national church must, in the first place, acknowledge as its members all the members of the nation, and give to each member an effective voice in its control. It must answer those who object, "This member is not orthodox," "That member is not baptized," "He is not good," "She is not *bonâ fide* with us," as the lord in the parable answered those who made like objections: "Let both grow together till the harvest." The nation is the field—sown these eighteen hundred years by Christ—full of the fruit of His seed; it is not for us to root out what we call tares: all must grow together, all who will must be treated as Churchmen, and have their voice in Church affairs.

The distinction between the Church and the world, so apparent in the New Testament, does not apply in a nation which has been for twelve hundred years under Christian influences. Christ is present even where He is not comprehended; and a Christian nation is a church.

Every parishioner must therefore, through a special board or through existing representatives, assist in choosing the minister who shall conduct the common worship and preach the truths revealed by God. He must also, through the same means, direct the expenditure of the money collected in the church or entrusted by donors to the officials of the parish. Further, he must, through his representatives, within the limits of the law, decide what shall be the form of service, and what shall be the ritual; and, lastly, he must understand that it is for him, through Parliament, and not for priests and bishops, to say how he and his fellows desire to con-

duct the public worship and what they in common believe and confess.

In a national church there can be no authority above the nation, and every member of the nation to-day has an equal right with that possessed by his ancestors in the sixteenth century, when their Parliament adopted the Common Prayer-book, and required that the articles of religion should be signed by all who ministered to the people. The nation which imposed such conditions might in like manner enforce or relax them. Our formularies are bound upon us by the will of the nation, and the only question which divides men is whether it shall be that will as declared in the past or in the present.

The nation has become separate from the Church not by any law, express or implied, but by the assumption of the clerical party. By law, every member of the nation is now a member of the Church ; by law, every building of the Church is the property of the nation ; by law, every prayer in the Prayer-book, every ritual direction, is enjoined by Act of Parliament ; and by law every bishop is indirectly chosen by the nation. The clerical party has assumed differently, and enforced its assumption by means of distinctive forms and by the constant repetition of the fable as to a different origin. The popular mind better understands parties than principles, and so it has come to be thought that only those who comply with some test are churchmen, that the buildings are sacred to a priestly caste and not to the common service, and that Parliament is unfit to deal with worship.

It is not, therefore, so much a law which is required to make the Church national, as the recognition by the nation of a fact.

Assume then that by some means the fact is recognized, and that once more Englishmen become keen for a worship in their parish churches which will help them, as members of the nation, to draw nigh to God, and for a teaching from their parish pulpits which will enable them to answer the eternal question, "How can we draw nigh to God?" Assume that by some means the Church system has become national in fact as well as in name—and at once the two results follow which are necessary to social reform. (1) There will be a body around which charitable efforts may centre, and (2) from this body will flow a spiritual force which may permeate the State. These results require to be worked out in some detail.

I.

A National Church would organize charities, and so prevent the confusion and the jealousies which now spoil so many efforts directed to meet the needs and raise the life of the poor. Many of these efforts are distinctly denominational; they have not, indeed, been started to promote certain views, but they have been started by people holding certain views. The "Church" has its societies for giving relief, for promoting emigration, for collecting savings; and the "chapel" has its societies for like objects. The reason of existence for these societies in their separate forms is not to be found in the fact that

the poor have needs, but in the fact that the people of goodwill have been divided into sects. By rivalry energy has doubtless been developed, and the Church owes a great debt to the Chapel which has made it active. By similar rivalry, in old days, England and Scotland developed qualities valuable to the world, and each owes gratitude to the other for the heroes who fought against her. The time for rivalry, however, soon passes, and rivalry between charitable societies, or between England and Scotland, is no longer to be encouraged.

It is not for the common good that when a "church" friend has by strong and loving influence induced a girl to take regular work, or a boy to give up loafing, that the "chapel" friend should leave a gift which tends to relax energy, or should give advice destructive of the previous influence. It is not an advantage, either, when one Society has encouraged a parent by the sacrifice of his beer or his pipe to give his child a country holiday, that another Society should step in and offer the holiday without requiring any effort. It is altogether a loss that giving should be connected with denominations, and that the poor should be encouraged in the belief that they can show gratitude for favours by their presence at a church or a meeting. It is manifest waste that many secretaries, many visitors, many offices, should be paid for from funds all of which are devoted to the poor, and which could equally well be administered by a few.

All who are concerned for social reform would hail the union of societies, and the disappearance of the deno-

minationalism which is the strength of their rivalry. In a really National Church there would be no denominationalism ; and those who for conscience' sake might be unable to agree with the ways of the majority, would yet be recognized as members of the Church while carrying on their worship in their own way.

From a Church which includes the entire Christian life and thought of the nation, no Christian liver or thinker would be driven to exclude himself, or, in protest, to mark himself off by some special denomination. The greater number of Nonconformists do not, however, now protest against the Episcopal Church for conscience' sake : they might find within its limits room for all their doctrines, and they themselves have adopted many of its forms. Nonconformity is a perpetuation of a protest the chief reasons for which have passed away. It has become part of the recognized supply of the means of public worship, and its simple forms and the efficiency of many of its preachers make it acceptable to certain classes of the people. Its protest is often social rather than religious, and gains strength from faults of detail rather than of principle in the Church system. The ordinary Nonconformist does not find it a grievance that the "Church" minister is an Arminian, but he thinks it intolerable that the minister of Christ should assume to be as one that is served, and that in a free country a patron should have power over the souls of others.

A National Church in which ministers should be appointed by the people, and where services might be altered

to suit their needs, would be acceptable to the majority of those who now worship with the Dissenters. In a National Church as in the nation there would be diversities of use ; all that is good in the sects would continue to exist, but sects would no longer exist as protests against each other ; the unity of the Church would be, as is the unity of the nation, a unity in variety.

With the disappearance of denominationalism many of the rival charities would also disappear. There would no longer be bodies of separatists whose good-will must of necessity show itself in separate efforts. They who recognized themselves to be of one body, and who, as voters, or as members of the same committee, would have to take part in its control, would show their good-will in some common action. With many, the sense of fellow-membership would be sufficient ; with others, the practical experience of the advantage gained by contact and consultation would draw them to common work.

Some minds yield to ideas, some to considerations of utility ; all would yield to the suggestion of a national effort for the promotion of social reform. The suggestion would satisfy those who desire the moral strength which comes from unity, and also those who desire to get work done in the shortest and best way.

The spur of denominational rivalry removed, an organized effort for social reform would be recognized as the essential work of the Church. To many who for a passing season are professing themselves to be careless of religion, the Church might seem to have

no higher aspect, but even to them it would be satisfying as performing a very necessary function. In every corner of the land they would see, established by its means, an agency for doing all manner of good. Men—with "opinions as wide as human thought, and hopes as lofty as heaven"—would be meeting week by week, or month by month, to direct the expenditure of alms, to elevate the hopes of the poor, and to increase the charity of the rich. A minister, chosen by the people, to be to them the voice of their conscience, would be seen to be witnessing to facts to which interest often blinds good men. Once assured that "charities" were not used to make proselytes to creeds or to parties, public opinion would support the agency which in each parish should "go about doing good." The assurance would be found in the national character of the agency, in the fact that the members of the controlling body in each parish were elected as freely as the members of Parliament. A body clear of any suspicion of a desire to proselytize, in which no crotchet would be supreme, and in which no object would be allowed to dominate as if it were a panacea, would be able to promote temperance, to provide recreation, to extend knowledge, to prevent disease, and make life better worth the living.

A time may come when every man will be so happy in his circumstances as to need only the companionship of his brother. But such a time is far distant. At present the many need help from the few. A time may come when that help shall be given by taxes and be administered by

officials. At present the help must be voluntary, and it is the common concern that the help should be efficient.

Of good-will there is abundance, but hitherto attempts to organize its efforts have failed, or have robbed them of their grace. The charity which gives a shilling where a pound is needed, which cares for the sick man during the season and forgets him during the holiday, which gives money to heal a broken heart or damps energy with a gift, the charity which blindly blunders, fails, notwithstanding its good intentions. The charity also which never errs, which wisely warns against the misuse of gifts and points to the real needs which exist, the charity which is done openly, fails, notwithstanding its wisdom, through lack of tenderness.

Through a National Church, reformed as has been proposed, charity might remain tender and become wise. Those anxious to give their shillings meeting in consultation those anxious to give books, and those who have promoted temperance societies meeting those who have promoted educational societies, the believers in giving meeting those who by self-help have created grand friendly societies, those who believe in *laissez faire* meeting those who claim the best as the right of the lowest—in such a meeting the first lesson of organization would be learnt, and still on each would be left the call to do his best.

Sufficient has been done in this direction to show that more is possible. It is notorious that members of various denominations have found common work on the School

Boards. They started from what seemed to be opposite stand-points ; some cared for one system of education and some for another, and it seemed as if only conflict could follow their meetings. They met, they have faced together the ignorance with which they have to deal ; they have found that no system is perfect, and all systems have some reason. Churchman and Nonconformist, Idealist and Utilitarian, have found the points of agreement more than the points of difference, and in most towns the School Board has been a peacemaker.

It is less notorious, but equally true, that in some parishes where differences have been ignored there has grown up a common action in matters of charity most effective for good. To take another instance : the Metropolitan Society for Befriending Young Servants ignores differences ; it enlists as its workers all who have the will to give the time and the heart to care for the lonely. A great number of visitors have thus been drawn together. There has been no attempt to organize them as if they were members of different societies ; High Church, Low Church, and no church, sectaries and secularists, have met as fellow-workers, and in fellow-work have influenced one another, as for one another's sake various plans have been admitted as good or dropped as unadvisable. This society has been successful as an organizing force, bringing together all people of good-will, economizing resources and guiding energy to fruitful issues. It is, on a small scale, what the National Church will be when it unites all who care for their fellows' needs, and leads

them to give up not only money, but their opinions and their jealousies, for the common good. If, unhappily, the Church ceased as a religious agency, its buildings, its organizations, its funds, would still be of inestimable value as the centre of voluntary efforts at social reform. At present these efforts often do harm by reason of confusion and jealousy; in a society truly national there could be neither, and good-will could by its means freely exert itself to meet the needs of the poor, to comfort their sorrows and to realize their hopes.

II.

A National Church would spiritualize the State, and so fit its action to human nature. At present "life is materialized": its aim is set on visible results; its heart is set upon comfort. The visible results are so good, it is so manifestly better that bread should be cheap, travelling easy, and disease rare, that men cannot be blamed for thinking such results to be the best, and the joy of the age at its victories over nature is half justified. Great is the gain of the victory, but in the fight there has been loss which cannot be endured. Gone is "the calm of earlier days;" and never will men "see an ennobling sight or drink of the feelings of quiet again."

A nation's wealth consists not in the things it possesses; it has been made and is preserved not only by the men who toil and spin, but also by those who have "sacrificed themselves for an idea."

Such sacrifice is in its highest form spirituality. He

who knows God, and therefore "must be about His business," and therefore "cannot do this great wickedness," and therefore, like Ivan Ivanovitch, does His will and asks "How otherwise?" he is the spiritual man. He is at the head of all who die for "an idea;" but in the line behind him are the student, the discoverer, the martyr, the gentleman. These are they who save a nation and make its name glorious; they give to its children abundance of joy, and make all its trade and its policy honourable. Woe be to England if her students seek only knowledge that pays, if her artists feed her with portraits of rich men, if her bishops are millionaires, and if her gentlemen put anything before honour.

The nation which has become materialized must be again spiritualized if she is to retain even her wealth; and the only possible agency is a National Church. A National Church will not indeed of itself secure this result, but it is the only organization which could make such a result possible.

In the first place, only a national organization can at once be in touch with the highest and the lowest life in the State; it alone, covering the length and breadth of the land, and drawing its life not from Convocation nor from the Church House but from the whole Christian community, can secure that truth shall not be everlastingly locked in narrow forms of words. If thought enlarges, if love grows more earnest, and if needs develop, the fact will at once be felt. Every individual will be influenced.

A sect is bound to the past as the Church of England is

now bound to mediæval statements of theology, and as the Wesleyans to the theology of Wesley. It cannot offer in their fulness the ideals whose presence is everywhere dimly felt. A sect, too, cannot touch every individual in the nation; it lives only where it gets adherents, and tends only to call the righteous to repentance. In the first place, therefore, a National Church is the fitting organization to spiritualize life because it can most easily admit development of thought, and most effectively transmit the thought to every soul.

In the next place, it alone can be independent of the strong and the wealthy. Only the whole nation is a match for the millionaire. In the sect he is all powerful—neither the minister nor the congregation can resist his will; his sins and the sins of his class will be lightly treated, and the new truth which might upset his schemes of “getting on” will not be admitted. In the National Church in which the nation is represented, and where the funds are not dependent on one man’s will, independence is possible. Conscious that he trusts neither to man nor to party, the minister will boldly rebuke vice, be it the vice of the rich or of the masses. A national organization is thus the only organization through which once more ideas can be so set forth that all will recognize their truth and value. It is the only organization through which the God revealed now in new glory by science and thought, and felt dimly even by those who deny His name, can be made known alike to rich and to poor.

The competition of Church and Chapel has failed both

in England and in America to spiritualize life ; and competition must fail, since it makes men zealous for opinion and success and not for truth. Accept, however, the fact of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the nation, and then a National Church will make State action helpful to social reform.

The last chapter of this work will show the relation of a national organization to religion. In this chapter the aim is to show its relation to social reform, and the point now urged is that if the Holy Spirit be in the nation, then it is through a national organization and not through sects that State action will henceforth be brought to treat man as a being capable of the highest life, and so become helpful to social reform.

State action represents the mind of the majority, and it is not until the majority care for ideas—or, to put the same thing in other words, it is not until the majority realize the gifts which Christ received—that the State action will satisfy human nature. When the electors have become familiar with honour, devotion, purity, patience—with God—then the laws of Parliament and the acts of Boards will really suit the needs of men. Legislation will then be religious in a sense not at present understood ; it will assume on the one side a Divine life hidden above, and on the other side the capacity of men to live that life.

A law is religious not when it enforces Bible reading or when it deals with public worship ; a law is religious which implies the existence of a heaven where

God's will is done, and which expects that will to be done on earth. The Education Act, though it secures an hour a day for religious teaching, is godless because its code implies that no higher life is possible than that which has been, and because it expects nothing in humanity except that for which pay may be received. The Poor Law, although it secures the ministrations of a chaplain in the workhouse, is not religious. It does not assume that it executes a commission from God who is justice and love, and it does not expect an action from men other than that to be expected from animals. Schemes of socialism, though they adopt the very words of Christ, are not of His Spirit. They show no reverence for what is of His Spirit, and they develop greed rather than duty.

All alike fail : the Education Act, the Poor Law, the schemes of socialists, irritate and do not satisfy men's needs. They tantalize with hopes that make the heart sick ; they are as is the harsh voice to musical ears, as is coarse sympathy to the weary soul, as is the offer of coals and rice to the breaking heart, and they are met with ingratitude. Yet ingratitude is not the fault of the recipient ; it is the fault of the giver who gives forgetting his brother's need of a brother's sympathy. All these laws and schemes fail because they do not consider what are the deepest needs of man, nor take account of the wants which distinguish man from the animals, and those of one man from those of another man.

Legislation when it is religious will give an education

drawn from the conception of a life higher than that of the successful man; and it will assume in the child of the labourer the possible capacities of a Bacon or a Milton. It will make a poor law whose judgment all will recognize as a blessing—one which will feed the bodies of the poor, but not tempt them to idleness, which will represent the law of God under which all live and suffer for their good, "learning obedience by the things which they suffer."

Legislation, when it becomes religious, will, in a word, develop duty, and it will nationalize knowledge and beauty. Such was the legislation under which the Jewish nation grew; the laws, familiar as they now seem, came as the commands of an authority whose ways were higher than the ways of men, and required of men higher duties than their self-interest dictated. The law-maker, that is, knew God as the Righteous and the Faithful, and he was concerned that His will should be done even in such small matters as the checking of envy, or the seething of a kid.

To particularize a "religious law" is not easy, so far has this generation departed from the religious idea. Among laws which may be designated religious is manifestly that which decreed the liberation of the slaves. This assumed freedom to be one of the necessities of life, and the capacity to enjoy freedom to be the nature even of slaves. On the other hand, the Criminal Law Amendment Act is not religious, since it does not assume purity to be of universal obligation, but presumes that it is impossible. It is a religious Act of Parliament

which extends the franchise, the act of those who believe in a Heaven in which every man has equal opportunities to use his powers, and who trust men now to use such powers; but they are irreligious Acts which degrade truth by substituting an oath for a statement, which allow imprisonment to be commuted by fine, and which acknowledge one standard of manners or conduct as binding on the rich and another on the poor. In a religious State knowledge would be recognized as the right of all men, and all men would claim their right. The God of knowledge would be worshipped, and without question His will would be done. As in heaven all know, so on earth all too must know.

Practically, therefore, an Education Act would open to men the opportunities of learning not just such things as it is conceived a working man requires, but all things which have been revealed by God; a Libraries Act would make free to all the records of the past, the thoughts and the hopes by which mankind gains power; and possibly means of travelling might be made so easy, that the knowledge of other countries, God's handwriting on other men and other manners, would become common. The God of knowledge is also the God of joy, and it must be His will that men should be glad, enjoying the beauty of sight and sound. In the State, therefore, where He is worshipped, there would be laws securing open spaces, means of exercise, and the delight of music.

And as before all He is God of justice and love,

the laws of the land would foster the energy and the sense of duty which through the ages have so slowly grown. Knowledge, joy, justice, love, these must be right, and their way—independent of party and policies—must be made smooth. “God says” was the authority on which the Jews obeyed the laws and became a blessing to all nations. Behind all laws in a religious State there must be the same assumption. The knowledge of God grows in every generation, and with larger knowledge there will be larger laws. God said of old: “Thou shalt do no murder.” God says now: “Make common what is best—give by sharing.” They who understand that such action as this is the will of God, and not the scheme of a politician or the whim of a party, will obey as men of old obeyed. When the law-makers, the people of England, know the God who was dimly revealed to the law-makers of Israel, when they know love to be almighty, then they, too, will be concerned that in things little and things big men should act as loving creatures. A National Church made effective the legislation of the Jews, and a National Church might again make effective our State action for the promotion of social reform.

To sum up the argument of this paper. Social reform is the necessity of our time which all recognize. Whether it is by voluntary or by State action that the life of the majority is to be raised and “equality of opportunity” opened to all, none can say. By one means or by the other changes will be made. But by whichever means

the changes take place, they can only be made effective by a truly National Church. Some such centre as it would afford is necessary for uniting voluntary action, for preventing the jealousies which belong to sects, and for modifying that zeal for opinion which often makes the philanthropist intolerant. Some such organization, too, is necessary for keeping before the minds of the lawmakers the higher life, the life of Christ hidden in God, and sought after by men. A National Church, being the centre of charitable effort and the means by which life may be made spiritual, is necessary to a social reform which aims not at setting one class in the place of another, but at giving to all those opportunities by which they may have the full use and the full satisfaction of their capacities for thinking, for feeling, and for enjoying.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BEARING OF CHURCH REFORM ON RELIGION.

THE question to be considered in this chapter is, how a particular kind of Church reform may be expected to tell upon religion. The word "reform" is by itself indeterminate, and there may be different policies of reform. But the interpretation of the word has always been defined by the aims of those who at any time are advocating a reform movement. Parliamentary reform has meant chiefly the better adjustment of representatives to the population. We who are asking for Church reform, desire various changes which men of all parties would admit to be improvements. But the changes which seem to us most important are those which, by restoring to the people generally some power of action in local Church matters, and by removing needless barriers between Churchmen and the Christians who occupy the more or less distinct positions of Nonconformity, would tend to make the Church of England more effectively the National Church. The creation of Church Boards in parishes may justly be taken as characteristic of our reform policy.

This innovation, we are well aware, is, and will be, as

earnestly opposed as any reform has been. It would take away some power from a powerful class—the class of the beneficed clergy. And when has any class surrendered power without resistance? But it also stirs religious apprehensions: that is to say, it touches in serious persons those feelings and convictions which they cherish most inwardly, and with the most sensitive tenacity. The strictly clerical opposition to Church reform is reinforced by a religious repugnance in which many of the laity share as strongly as most of the clergy. “The clergyman is the appointed minister of religion in the parish; he has had the due training, and has been set apart by ordination; he has given securities for his orthodoxy:—how can it be reasonable or safe to authorize and enable a set of persons, presumably ill-informed in theology, of doubtful opinions, possibly of little or no religion, to interfere with the province of the clergyman in such matters as the details of Church service?” Such a question expresses the natural feeling of many religious persons. They do not like the plan of giving legal power to any Church Board, however constituted; but a Church Board elected by voters without any religious qualification seems to them unfit, on the face of it, to have any share in the regulation of religion. It is a reproach commonly brought against the advocates of Church reform, that they would sacrifice religion, or at least the Church, for the sake of maintaining the Establishment.

The accusation proceeds both from Churchmen and from Nonconformists. We have a right to remind the former

that the Church of England is already controlled by the civil authority—by the sovereign, the judges, the Parliament—in graver matters than those which would be committed, by any proposal of ours, to the parochial Church Board. The Dissenters do not need to be reminded of this fact; they regard the existing subjection of the Church to civil government as humiliating to the self-respect of Churchmen, and as stifling to religion. Churchmen, on the other hand, have been accustomed to regard it with satisfaction and pride. It is true that of late years, in the interest of ritual innovations, there has been a vehement revolt against the jurisdiction of the courts of the realm; but in the same interest there has been the same resistance to the exercise of episcopal authority. No less obstinately than the judgments and sentences of the courts of the realm, the earnest appeals and the solemn injunctions of bishops have been disregarded by clergymen who have been bent on making their ritual more “Catholic.” The rebellion against civil interference has been caused and limited by disapprobation of particular bearings of such interference. It does not appear that the religious conscience of Churchmen has been much troubled by the fact that the Church has no exclusive constitution or administration. In the small areas of parishes, it has not been felt as an outrage that churchwardens should be elected, as they have been from time immemorial, by the parishioners indiscriminately. Why, we have a right to ask, should those who are contentedly swallowing the camel make a difficulty about the gnat?

We are only proposing a modification of the constitution of the Church which runs on the recognized lines of that constitution.

But, whilst this might be a sufficient defence of Church Boards elected by an unexclusive constituency, as against imputations of an irreligious tendency brought by Churchmen who are content with the existing constitution, we ought to be ready to consider candidly what effect this reform might be fairly expected to have upon religion. If it could be shown that a proposed change would probably have an injurious effect upon the religion of the country, it would be no sufficient defence of it to urge that it would be in harmony with some existing institution. No one, it is to be presumed, advocates Church reform without being persuaded that its influence on religion would be salutary.

Religion, it is necessary to remind ourselves, is both good and bad ; may be an evil incubus, as well as a power of deliverance and union. Sometimes the religion prevailing with great force amongst a people has been a dark and cruel superstition, such as no one in these times would approve. Religion may be defined as the fear of the supernatural ; true religion is the right kind of affection towards the living God. The increase of religion amongst a people might be a very questionable gain ; but "increase in us *true* religion" is a prayer in which we may all heartily join. We are bound, therefore, to consider the quality of religion even more than the quantity of it. If we look at the Gospels, what do

we find there? We see our Lord deliberately setting Himself against the religion of His time—the religion that idolized the Scriptures, that was scrupulous about the observance of the Sabbath, that frequented the Temple, that made long prayers, that imposed fasting, that contributed largely to sacred objects, that compassed sea and land to make one proselyte. Why was all this orthodox religion odious to the Saviour? Because it misrepresented the mind of the Father, and increased, instead of lightening, the burdens of men. It is impossible to conceive a more forcible warning against taking for granted that the religion of duly constituted priests is sure to have the Divine approval. No inheritance of orthodoxy can exempt us from the duty of proving religion whether it is of God.

There is a great fear in these days—a fear to which no one has given more solemn expression than Mr. Gladstone—of what is called “Erastianism;” that is, of the desire to maintain the authority of the nation, instead of substituting for it the authority of the clergy or of the professedly religious, in matters of religion. Infinite scorn is poured upon those who would take their creed from a population including atheists. So it well may be, if there are any persons who would do this. “Eras- tians” would no more take their creed from the English population at large than Canon Liddon would, or Mr. Richard. But this is not because there are atheists and scoffers, Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics, in England. We should as peremptorily refuse to do so if the whole

population were Christians and Churchmen. But do the anti-Erastians pledge themselves to accept and hold the conclusions of any set of persons whatever, distinct from the general population? If they are for a moment inclined to say they do, we want no other proof of the danger of their doctrine. The clergymen composing the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury have been resolving that the true Church reform is to increase the legislative power of the clergy as against that of the nation; and it is possible that there are some, of the laity as well as of the clergy, who almost think that it would be their duty to believe whatever the English Provincial Convocations might declare to be orthodox, and to approve of whatever these Convocations might declare to be expedient. But no one can be imagined so Anglican as to affirm deliberately that the voice of the Convocations is to be accepted as the voice of God. The Protestant Christian, who prides himself on forming his opinions by his own investigations, is still less likely to declare himself an unquestioning subject of any religious authority. The question, therefore, between those who favour the national control of religion, and those who would give the control of religion exclusively to ecclesiastical representative bodies, is not whether the commonwealth or a Church assembly has the better right to dictate a creed to individuals; it is a much less absurd one, the answer to which must depend on an estimate of probabilities. This is what is asked,—Is it likely to be better for the Church in this country

at the present time, and in the immediate future, that the civil power should ultimately decide what may and what may not be taught by the clergy, what ritual may or may not be practised in churches ; or that the ultimate decision in such controversies should be in the hands of a clerical body such as a Provincial Convocation? We do not say that in every country we should wish the State to act as the religious authority ; we do not suggest to the Methodists or the Congregationalists that they should ask the State to undertake the government of their respective societies. But we hold that, as things are in England at the present time, good Churchmen and other religious men have less reason to be apprehensive of dangerous action on the part of the State than they have to be suspicious of the professional zeal of clerical bodies ; that theology and ritual and religious life are, on the whole, safer under civil than they would be under ecclesiastical government. There is nothing very adventurous in such a belief. The Ritualists have constantly preferred their liberty under our "Erastian" constitution to the recognition of Episcopal or Convocational authority. The *Guardian* newspaper, which represents so admirably the general clerical interest, observed not long since¹ : "The real safeguard alike of theological freedom and theological orthodoxy in the Church of England, is the necessity of making good in a court of law any theological objection to a presentee." It is almost certain that if the Convocations had had su-

¹ May 19th, 1886.

preme authority during the last fifty years, they would have narrowed the liberties of the Church of England most injuriously. It is the characteristic of State authorities to take history into account in dealing with religion as in other matters; and there is no more important guide to theological truth or to wise religious policy than history. "*Veritas filia temporis, non auctoritatis.*" To Rome, or to Presbyterianism of the obsolescent type, English Churchmen, as such, are all alike Erastians. But there is no doubt a clericalist party which has its own reasons for raising the cry of Erastianism. Against the aims of this clericalist party we Church reformers are holding by the historical principles of the Church of England; in which the Sovereign, advised by the Prime Minister, appoints the chief pastors, and the courts of the realm decide whether a clergyman is adequately orthodox or not, and the Legislature gives legal force to dogma and to ritual.

The proposal, therefore, to give certain powers to lay parishioners in those Church matters with which they are specially concerned, is in harmony with our historical system of Church government. We ask for a modest extension of local government in Church affairs. We do not suggest that the doctrine or the ritual of the Church should be surrendered into the hands of small sections of the population. We do not even propose that the parishioners should choose their own clergyman, though we think that they ought to have some voice in the selection. But we hold it reasonable that variable local

arrangements should not be entirely at the clergyman's discretion, but that the people generally should have a share in them. We desire also that any legal impediment which now hinders the bishops from permitting whomsoever they think proper to preach in churches should be removed ; and that it should be thus made possible for laymen and Nonconformists approved by the bishop to give exhortations from Church pulpits.

How is it probable that a policy thus indicated would bear upon religion ? That will depend on what we understand by religion. There are kinds of it, which the promotion of such a policy would hardly foster but might rather tend to discourage. If we associate religion with the division of mankind into the two classes of the saved and the unconverted, and assume that religion is promoted when one and another of the unconverted are plucked as brands from the burning, we shall be inclined to suspect any habits of thought or life which confuse the two classes and make no account of the division. That is a kind of religion which has been largely inherited by the Evangelical Dissenters and the Churchmen who sympathize with their teaching ; and they honour it, not only as apparently scriptural, but as blended in recent history with saintly lives and generous efforts. If, again, the religion for which we care is that of attachment to the ceremonies and traditions of the Church, and obliges us to shrink from those who are not strictly within the Church's fold, we shall naturally think it dangerous to be amicable towards Nonconformity.

It is possible, and even probable, that we might increase the quantity of religion in this country by giving a free course to the policy of sectarianism. Competition is an active stimulant of production. It is notorious that the Church of England is not suitably organized and equipped for the competitive struggle for existence. So far as its governmental organization is concerned, it may justly be taunted with being a kind of function of the State. It is not virtually a mere function of the State : far from it. If the State were to declare to-morrow that it would have nothing to do with religion, the Church of England would remain as a vital mass capable of developing itself into a self-governing organization. The community would remain, of baptized persons accepting the creed and using the worship of the Church ; the Prayer-book would remain, and the bishops and clergy, and the churches, and in some sense even the parishes. A scheme of government would be in some way framed and accepted, and it would without doubt be representative in its character. Electoral qualifications and rights would be defined. There are existing examples of self-governing Anglican Churches, in the United States, in our Colonies, in Ireland, which would be compared for imitation. ... A new Church of England would be created—new in its constitutional form, but old in its materials, and in its historical possessions and prestige, and especially in its relation to the Universal Church. Such a society would stand out as an independent body, with defined membership, one amongst the rival religious bodies of the land.

The Liberationists think that the formation of such a Church is so obviously a thing to be desired by Churchmen, that they can only suppose that it is the fear of losing some of our endowments in the process that hinders us from throwing ourselves into the work of creating it. It is evident that High Church feeling is also strongly attracted by a revolution which would thus completely deliver the Church of England from "Erastianism." The fact that High Churchmen are not thorough and eager Liberationists proves, indeed, that there is a powerful element of truer Church feeling beneath their party prepossessions, which makes them still prefer a Church of England to an independent Anglican society. It is, no doubt, a common argument of Church defenders that by the partial loss of endowments which it is assumed must accompany Disestablishment the cause of religion will to the same extent suffer. Liberationists urge, on the other hand, that the new energy which would be stimulated by the setting free of the Church as an independent body, together with the more effective application of the funds which would be retained, would more than compensate for the loss of such endowments as would be taken away. This contention has great force; and Liberationists may reasonably protest that we Churchmen do ourselves injustice if we assume that we are not capable of raising the funds which would be needed for our work. The very strain put upon Churchmen would tend to increase their interest and zeal in the work of the Church. But it must again be emphatically urged that in religion

quality is everything, quantity little or nothing. The most devoted Christian ought to deprecate untrue and unwholesome religion as much as the most anti-religious Agnostic. Let it be freely admitted that there is religion which Church reform would discourage, and which Disestablishment might not improbably do more than Church reform to increase. But our prayer is, "Increase in us *true* religion." And we contend that a movement which would make the Church more national, without surrendering its creed and worship, would do much to increase that true religion which is the right affection towards the living God, and might in this way be of inestimable value to the nation.

The God who is revealed to our intelligence more clearly than to that of our fathers is the God of mankind, the living Creator of nations and families, the Author of all the national ordinances of society. He is the same God who was declared of old as the Father of the Son of man ; but we are enabled to understand better in this age of the world the meaning of that name. Sectarian religion is in danger of shutting its eyes to this revelation ; its special interest is in the God of tradition ; it is led to exalt and cherish those particular traditions which make one church differ from other churches. National and civic religion, on the other hand, has its eyes open to the revelation of God in history ; it looks for His energy and providence in the living movement of things ; it sees His commandments in the various and advancing duties of man to man ; it has for its ideal the

purpose of God accomplished in the perfecting of human relations. Do the Liberationists declare that no inspiration can be breathed into men's minds from the State? We could not have a more demonstrative indication of the blinding and perverting influence of sectarian conceptions of religion. The patriotic men who have been betrayed into that statement,¹ do themselves the most obvious wrong. They—Mr. Henry Richard and Mr. Carvell Williams—are visibly inspired by the Commonwealth of which they are sons. They and their associates have exposed themselves to the honourable imputation of being political Dissenters. They are constantly protesting that in striving to bring about Disestablishment, and in fomenting the discord which the agitation involves, they are seeking the good of the whole nation, and are moved by a loyal love of their country. They, of all men, ought not to have fallen into so glaring an error. The State, the Commonwealth, the Country, has been, and is now not less than ever before, a most prevailing medium of inspiration for human effort and sacrifice. All our English religion has been at its best when it has been most patriotic. The late Lord Shaftesbury—to take a popular example—held a religious creed of a narrow and repellent type with resolute tenacity. He was ardently devoted to the diffusion of evangelical religion,

¹ In the manual on "Disestablishment" published in this Series, the following sentiment is quoted with approval from Mr. Laurence Oliphant, "You might as well try to extract warmth from an iceberg, as inspiration from the State" (p. 80).

and allowed himself sometimes to indulge in language of bigoted intolerance ; the manifest decline of evangelical theology gave a dark tinge of despondency to his reflections in the latter part of his life. But he was also inspired by the Commonwealth ; and his mind was enlarged, his sympathies widened, and his energies stimulated to beneficent activity, by that inspiration. He was in truth, and he almost knew himself to be, as much the worshipper of God, the follower of Christ, when he was striving to redress and heal the social wrongs and miseries of his country, as when he was directing city missionaries, and circulating Bibles, and denouncing rationalism. Yes : we do not hesitate to affirm that, as God is revealing Himself in this age through His government of mankind and of natural human societies, so He is supporting that revelation by the spiritual enthusiasm which ideal humanity proves itself capable of arousing.

In advocating certain changes which would tend to make the Church more thoroughly national, we are disposed to set a higher value on this their general *tendency*, and on the witness which they would bear to the principle that the laity of the nation in all their sections are bound to take an interest in the work of the Church, than on their probable immediate effects. The powers which it is proposed to give to Church Boards in parishes, for example, are so limited, that to any revolutionary aspirations they must seem insignificant. But the very existence of a Church Board, resting not on individual opinion, but on the divinely created relation of the

people to God and to the service of God, might have a powerful subtly-diffused influence on the general consciousness. It would hold up before the minds of all a Christian ideal higher and more comprehensive than the zeal of religious societies or the devotion of individuals—that of the perfect social life, the life of members united in the Body of Christ. It would thus be carrying on the best English traditions, and pre-eminently the traditions of the Church of England. Would not its witness be also in close harmony with the hopes of the first Christian age? The New Testament winds up its teaching with the presentation of a heavenly city established on the earth, a city of purity, virtue, and happiness. It is not the glory of this city to be exclusive, or non-secular; the gates thereof shall in no wise be shut, and they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it. There is a tree of life, bearing twelve manner of fruits, yielding its fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations. The healing of the nations—of our own nation first, and the other nations to which the One God would bind us with the cords of justice and amity;—this we claim as the proper Christian hope of every Englishman, and we desire that the national institutions should invite all members of the commonwealth to bear their parts in labouring for the accomplishment of this hope, and should offer them ways and facilities for the labour.

Within the limits of the parish, it might seem that the first effect of a Church Board would be to put a clog

upon clerical activity. No doubt the clergyman would be restrained more than he now is from summarily carrying out his own predilections. In planning any changes, he would have to keep in view the necessity of obtaining the concurrence of the people. But it is probable that this necessity would have an entirely salutary influence upon his own pastoral consciousness. The Church Board would turn the mind, and with it the heart, of the clergyman to the people, and in the same degree would the heart of the people be turned to the clergyman. The response of the general population towards a clergyman who shows that he regards himself as the servant of all his parishioners is often touchingly cordial; and that response draws out all that is best in the clergyman's nature. There was a striking example of this happy relation in the mutual feeling which existed between the people of Nottingham and their late vicar, the Rev. F. Morse. It is significant that men like Mr. Morse and the late Bishop of Manchester were not afraid of Church Boards. It cannot be hoped, indeed, that in all parishes there would be nothing but harmonious co-operation between the clergyman and the representatives of the people. But it is reasonable to expect that the general tendency, in parishes having Church Boards, would be towards such co-operation, and therefore towards a warmer and heartier religious life, and a more diffused religious activity.

It is an important practical question, as every statesman well knows, whether "the time is ripe" for any

movement. We cannot urge that the clerical feeling in the Church, or the corresponding feeling in the Dissenting bodies, is favourably disposed to the policy of Church reform which we advocate. But we believe that, in respect of the general currency of thought, the time is ripe for it. The consciences of men are awakening to larger theological conceptions, to more generous religious aspirations. Separatism is visibly losing its *raison d'être*. We are learning to seek for what is historical and positive, rather than what is voluntary and dogmatic, as a basis of systems, and as a bond of common life and effort. Those who have looked at Evolution as a candidate for the throne of the universe, are perceiving that evolution cannot take the place of God, but that the living Divine Spirit works in the way of evolution. It is recognized that it is in the unfolding of the natural order, and in the historical development of mankind, that God is to be sought or found. We have been moved by new impulses to feel after God as a Power in whom our whole race through its successive generations lives and moves and has its being. These characteristics of our time make against the exclusive, dogmatic, sectarian spirit: they are in favour of a historic national Christianity, claiming continuity with the past and fellowship with the universal Church, and offering a hospitable welcome to all who desire to take part in its work.

APPENDICES.

MANY schemes of Church Reform have been propounded during the last few years, varying greatly in importance, in seriousness of purpose, and in elaboration. There might be risk of confusion were they presented to the reader without distinction. They are therefore taken in the following order :—

I. The Church Boards Bill is given in full, being the substantive proposal to which attention has been frequently called in the present work. It has been brought several times before Parliament by Mr. Albert Grey, and has been carefully re-cast, with his consent, by the Committee of the Church Reform Union.

II. The schemes which embody the views respectively of the Nationalist, the Clericalist, and the Separatist Reformers, are set out, as put forth respectively by (1) The National Church Reform Union, (2) The English Church Union, and (3) The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Control.

III. Schemes emanating from various sources are given, so that all proposals which have secured any considerable support should be accessible to the reader. They are :—

1. The Declaration addressed to the Archbishop and Bishops by residents in the University of Cambridge in December, 1885, with the Archbishop of Canterbury's reply.

2. The Address of four thousand clergymen presented, through the Rev. M. S. Walrond, to the Archbishops in April, 1886.

3. The Reports of the Upper and Lower Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury, called forth by these two addresses, in February, 1886.

4. The proposals of Reforms made by the Bishop of Liverpool (Ryle).

5. A Declaration made at the residence of Lord Shaftesbury in the year 1872 (given as the only plan of reform emanating from the body of the Evangelical school).

6. A Manifesto proceeding from a body of Conformist and Non-conformist Ministers meeting in Whitechapel in December, 1885.

7. A summary of proposals made by Dr. Martineau for a "National Church as a Federal Union," in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1887.

APPENDIX I.

PROPOSED BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHURCH BOARDS.

BE it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows ; (that is to say,)

1. This Act may be cited as the Church Boards Act.

2. In this Act the word "parish" shall denote any ecclesiastical district with legally constituted limits over which the incumbent of the church thereof has exclusive cure of souls. The word "incumbent" shall mean rector, vicar, perpetual curate, or any curate in charge where the rector or the vicar shall be non-resident.

3. No proceedings shall be taken under the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874, in respect of anything done or omitted to be done in any parish in which a Church Board as hereinafter defined is for the time being established.

4. If any *three* such parishioners of any parish as are entitled to vote at the election of churchwardens shall at any time signify by notice in writing to the churchwardens their desire that the provisions of this Act shall come into operation with respect to such parish, the churchwardens shall, within *three* days after the receipt of such notice, cause the same to be affixed to the doors of the church of the parish, and, at the same time, without any consent being necessary, summon, by affixing a notice to the doors of such church, a meeting of the parishioners of the parish, to be held not sooner than *fifteen* and not later than *twenty-one* days after the date of such notice being affixed, to consider the expediency of adopting the provisions of this Act.

Such meeting shall be held in the vestry of the church, or in such other convenient place as may be specified in the said notice.

5. If a majority of the parishioners present and voting at such meeting shall resolve that it is expedient that the provisions of this Act shall be adopted with respect to such parish, the churchwardens shall forthwith give notice in the manner aforesaid that at the next

meeting of the parishioners for the purpose of electing parish officers six persons shall be elected to be members of the Church Board of the parish. Each person present at such next meeting and entitled to vote shall be entitled to vote openly for any number of persons not exceeding three-fourths of the number of vacancies, and the persons who have the greatest number of votes shall be elected.

6. The persons entitled to vote upon the expediency of adopting the provisions of this Act, and for the election of members of the Church Board, shall be the same persons as would be entitled to vote for churchwardens in such parish.

7. The Board shall consist of the incumbent, the churchwardens appointed in the way customary in the parish, and four¹ other persons, one of whom may be nominated by the incumbent.

In the event of any member elected refusing to act or vacating his seat during the term of office, the other members of the Board shall forthwith proceed to elect a fit and proper person to fill every such vacancy, any difference of opinion to be decided by a majority of votes.

8. Each elected member of the Board shall, before taking his seat thereon, make a declaration² that he will faithfully perform the duties of the office as a member of the Church of England as by law established.

9. The assistant clergy of a parish are eligible to sit upon the Board, either by nomination by the incumbent or election by the parishioners.

10. Every Board shall, within *one month* after it shall have been elected, hold a meeting in the vestry of the church or such other place as may be decided upon by the Board, and seven days' notice in writing of such meeting shall be given by the churchwardens to each member of the Board. The Board shall determine the place and times, not less than twice in each year, of their subsequent meetings; and it shall be summoned at other times, by a week's notice

¹ Many of the promoters of this Bill desire that the number of members should be larger.

² Many of the promoters of the Bill object to this declaration. Those who support it desire only that an assurance should be given by members of Church Boards that they will work the Church system *bonâ fide* for the promotion of Christian righteousness.

in writing to each member, by the churchwardens, upon the written requisition of any two of its members.

11. At all meetings of the Board the incumbent of the parish shall be ex-officio chairman, and if he shall not be present, or shall decline to be such chairman, then some one of the members chosen by a majority of the meeting shall be chairman. The quorum to be fixed by the Board shall consist of not less than five; and every question shall be decided by a majority of votes of the members present and voting on that question, and in case of an equality of votes the chairman for the time being shall have a second or casting vote.

12. The Board shall have the power from time to time of making any change not contrary to law in the manner of conducting the services and ministrations of the church, or in the vestments worn by any person officiating or assisting in such services, or in the arrangements for the seating of the parishioners, or in the lights, ornaments, decorations, furniture, or fittings of the church. The Board shall also superintend the distribution of all moneys collected within the church, and undertake the management of any matter of an ecclesiastical nature affecting the general interests of the parish which has theretofore been managed by the incumbent, or by the incumbent and the churchwardens. The Board shall be a body corporate, and shall have power to acquire and hold property of any kind in trust to retain or apply the same for any religious or charitable object connected with the parish.

13. In any parish in which a Church Board is for the time being established no change shall be made without the sanction of such Board in the manner of conducting the services and ministrations of the church, or in the vestments worn by any person officiating or assisting in such services, or in the arrangements for the seating of the parishioners, or in the lights, ornaments, decorations, furniture, or fittings of the church.

14. Subject to the power of appeal hereinafter contained, the incumbent and churchwardens shall respectively conform to all lawful orders made by the Church Board under this Act.

15. The churchwardens shall, within *three* days after any change has been authorized by the Board, affix on the doors of the church a notice specifying the particulars of such change, and shall keep the same affixed thereon for the space of *twenty-one* days, and after such twenty-one days shall have expired such change shall, unless there

shall have been any such appeal therefrom as hereinafter mentioned, be carried into effect.

16. If the incumbent disapproves of any such change, he may within such *twenty-one* days appeal to the bishop of the diocese. After the expiration of *sixty* days from the date of notice the change shall be carried into effect, unless in the meantime the bishop shall have decided in favour of the appellant, in which case the change shall not take place. The bishop shall enforce compliance with the provisions of this Act on the part of the incumbent by monition, subject to no appeal therefrom.

17. If the incumbent shall wilfully fail to obey such monition during the space of three weeks after service thereof upon him, the bishop who issued the monition shall, by notice under his hand to be forthwith posted on the doors of the parish church, suspend the said incumbent from the exercise of his office as incumbent and of the duties appertaining thereto in such parish, and sequester the revenues of his benefice, until the incumbent shall signify to the bishop in writing that he is willing to obey such monition; and if the said incumbent wilfully exercises his said office, or any of the duties appertaining thereto, notwithstanding such notice, or wilfully fails during the space of twelve months after the date of such notice to signify to the bishop in writing that he is willing to obey such monition, such bishop shall, upon being satisfied thereof, declare by a further notice, signed and posted as aforesaid, that such incumbent is and such incumbent shall thereupon be deprived of his said benefice for all purposes as if he were dead from and after the date of the posting of such notice.

18. When the revenues of a benefice have been sequestered under this Act, the same shall be payable to the bishop, and shall be applied by him to providing for the necessary expenses of serving the cure while the incumbent is suspended.

19. The bishop shall hear any matter in dispute arising under this Act between the incumbent and other members of the Board, either in open court or in camera, as he shall think fit, and his decision shall be given in writing to both parties, and shall be final.

20. It shall be lawful for the bishop of any diocese, on the application of the Church Board and incumbent of any parish within his diocese, to grant, if he shall think fit, permission under his hand to any person, although he is not in holy orders of the Church of Eng-

land, and has not made or subscribed a declaration of assent in the terms set forth in the Clerical Subscription Act, 1865, to preach an occasional sermon or lecture in the church of such parish; and thereupon it shall be lawful for the person mentioned in such permission, on the invitation of the incumbent and Church Board, to preach an occasional sermon or lecture in such church or chapel without making any subscription or declaration before preaching.

21. Unless the bishop shall have previously refused to institute a presentee, he shall, as soon as may be after the completion of the presentation, and a month at least before institution or collation, issue and send mandates in the form or to the effect contained in Schedule A to the churchwardens of the church of which the presentee would, if instituted, become the incumbent. The churchwardens shall thereupon comply with the directions contained in the mandate, and the bishop shall not accept the presentee or proceed to collate until the said mandate or mandates shall have been duly returned to him.

22. If the Church Board notifies to the bishop of the diocese within days from the receipt of the aforesaid notice that in the opinion of the majority of such Church Board the presentee ought not to be instituted or collated to the benefice of such parish, it shall be lawful for the bishop, if he think fit, to refuse to institute or collate the said presentee, and to call upon the patron to make a new presentation.

23. If on the second presentation for the same vacancy the Church Board shall notify to the bishop of the diocese that the majority of such Church Board are of opinion that the presentee ought not to be instituted or collated, then the vacancy shall not be filled up by the patron but by such bishop on his own discretion.

24. The elective members of the Board shall be elected annually at the time customary for the election of parish officers. Retiring members shall be re-eligible.

SCHEDULE A.

I, *A.B.*, Lord Bishop of *C.*, do hereby require you, *D.E.* and *F.G.*, officiating of the church of *H.*, in the Parish of *I.*, to affix to the doors of the church of the parish, on the next Sunday after the receipt hereof, the notice below set forth; and I do hereby further require you, the said *D.E.*, and *F.G.*, to return to me this

mandate forthwith after reading the said notice as aforesaid, and to certify to me hereon that you have duly complied herewith.

Notice.—By direction of the lord bishop of the diocese, I hereby give notice that the Rev. *H.I.*, now of *J.*,
, in the county of *K.* and diocese of *L.*, purposes to
be instituted (or collated) as the future rector [*vicar, &c.*] of this parish.

If in the opinion of the majority of the Church Board there is any cause why the said *H.I.* ought not to become rector [*vicar, &c.*] of this parish, let them notify the same to the lord bishop in writing within _____ days from the receipt of the aforesaid notice.

Certificate.—We *D.E.*, and *F.G.*, officiating churchwardens of the church of *H.*, do hereby certify that we have duly complied with the above mandate.

(Signed) *D.E.*
F.G.

APPENDIX II.

COMPARISON OF THE NATIONALIST, THE CLERICALIST, AND THE SEPARATIST SCHEMES OF CHURCH REFORM.

I. The NATIONALIST scheme which is put forward by the National Church Reform Union is that which has been advocated throughout this work, and is set out in the Introduction, and, more at length, in Chapter V. Its chief distinctive proposals are :

- (a) Church Boards in Parishes.
- (b) Admission of other than Anglican clergymen to preach.
- (c) Abolition of clerical subscription.
- (d) Modification of Act of Uniformity to suit local needs.
- (e) Reform of Patronage, giving to parishioners some power over appointments.
- (f) Redistribution of clerical incomes.

II. The CLERICALIST policy, as shortly described in an address to the Houses of Convocation of the Clergy, adopted at a meeting of the English Church Union on Friday, Feb. 26, 1886, and amplified by Lord Halifax in his speech at Oxford on Feb. 22, 1886, is as follows :

(a) The abolition of the Appellate Jurisdiction of the Privy Council in ecclesiastical causes; the reinstatement of the Diocesan Courts (as recommended by the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission); and the substitution, in the whole judicial system of the Church, of purely ecclesiastical judges (bishops and their nominees) for the present mixed judicature (viz. : (1) the Chancellors of the Bishops; (2) the Provincial Judge appointed by the Archbishops and the Crown conjointly; and (3) the Privy Council, consisting of law judges, who must be Churchmen, together with Episcopal referees).

(b) The better representation of the clergy in Convocation; and a House of Laymen for each province.

(c) The restoration of Diocesan Synods, purely clerical bodies, to which the diocesan conferences of clerical and lay representatives from the rural deaneries would act as a kind of advising body.

(d) The provision of a simpler and more expeditious manner of dealing with criminous clerks.

(e) The formation of Parochial Councils (if at all) only on a voluntary basis, the whole organization to be limited to communicants of the Church of England, and to such as "will not confuse the rights of the clergy and the position of the laity."

(f) A system of discipline to be applied to the laity as well as the clergy (apparently by means of exclusion from the communion and from Christian burial).

(g) The disallowance of the power given by the Divorce Act to clergymen to re-marry divorced persons; and resistance to the Deceased Wife's Sister Marriage Bill.

(h) Abolition of the sale both of advowsons and next presentations, without compensation to patrons.

(i) The permission to Cathedral Chapters to reject those nominated for bishoprics by the Crown.

It will be seen that these proposals are rightly called "Clericalist," by which name two things are implied—first, that they put the chief power into the hands of the bishops and clergy; secondly, that the Clericalist conception of the Church as a system concerned mainly, if not exclusively, with public worship, is dominant. The laity are strictly subordinate, and can only exercise the residuum of power still left to them if they comply with some test relating to the system of public worship.

III. The SEPARATIST policy is that advocated by the "Society for

the Liberation of Religion from State Control and Patronage." The principal proposals may be gathered from the suggestions made by a special committee of that Society in 1877, and published by that Society in "The Case for Disestablishment." They were also adopted in the book termed "The Radical Programme" in 1885, to which a preface, indicating general approval, was written by Mr. Chamberlain. They form the only definite statement of what is meant by the somewhat vague expression, Disestablishment; but it should be remembered that, as stated by their authors, "they do not profess to be more than hints to aid in the public discussion of a great public question." The proposals are as follows:—

First: (1) A declaration to be made, as in the Irish Church Act, 1869, that "The Church of England shall cease to be established by law." This would involve—

(2) That every Ecclesiastical corporation, sole or aggregate, and every Cathedral corporation, should be dissolved.

(3) That the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts should cease, and that all statutes relating to Ecclesiastical law should be repealed.

(4) That the bishops should no longer sit in the House of Lords.

Secondly: These arrangements to take effect at a fixed date, not waiting for other arrangements to be made, or for a gradual change through death or resignation. The incumbents of the dissolved corporations would, as afterwards provided, have a right to pecuniary compensation; but neither the clergy nor the laity would have any vested right in their established or corporate position after the day of dissolution.

Thirdly: No fresh body to be formed by law, as was done in Ireland by the formation of the "Church body." The individual clergymen or laymen would be free to form one or many associations for worship or other purposes, though only by means of the general facilities existing for association. But no such body would (like the Irish Church) be bound by any presumption of law to Episcopalian Church government, or to the existing legal arrangements, except so far as the members contracted together on these terms.

Fourthly: Compensation to be given to the clergy alone, the laity having no rights since the Church is not a corporate body. No duties to be incumbent on them. "They would be dealt with in the same way

as other public officials whose services are no longer required by the State." The compensation would be according to age—clergymen of seventy years old receiving their full income; those of thirty-five or less, one half; and others in proportion. These life pensions might be commuted for capital sums.

Fifthly: Compensation to be given to private (not to public) patrons, if they desire it, out of the livings of which they own the advowson.

Sixthly: The buildings to be disposed of as follows: (1) Educational institutions, with their endowments, to be separated from Ecclesiastical institutions and devoted to national purposes; (2) Cathedrals to be placed "under national control, and to be maintained for such purposes as Parliament may from time to time determine;" (3) Ancient¹ churches, numbering about 9,000, to be vested in a Parochial Board, and to be dealt with at its discretion for the good of the parishioners, with power also of sale; (4) Modern² churches, numbering some 7,000, if built by individuals, to be given back to them or their representatives; if unclaimed by them, or if erected by many persons, to become the property of existing congregations; if not accepted by them, to vest in the Parochial Board; if built partly from public funds, the sum granted from public funds to be a charge upon the building; (5) Parsonages, if ancient,³ to be counted as part of the general church endowments resumed by the nation; if modern,⁴ to be subject to the same conditions as the modern churches; the clergyman in every case to be allowed to continue to reside in the parsonage so long as he ministers to the same congregation, but (except where the parsonage belongs to the congregation) to pay rent for it.

Seventhly: Modern⁴ endowments to be subject to the same conditions as modern churches and parsonages. The glebes, ancient and modern, to be subject to the same conditions, respectively, as the ancient and modern parsonages.

Eighthly: The surplus revenues, when they accrue, to be appropriated by the nation, according to the wants and feelings of the period.

The process developed in these proposals has been called in these

¹ That is, those built before 1818.

² Built after 1818.

³ About 8,500.

⁴ About 4,000.

pages by the name of Separatist because (1) It takes no account of the Church as a whole ; and justifies this by the statement that the Church, as such, has no corporate existence, a statement which is only true because, and so long as, it is merged in the nation ; (2) It breaks up the Church into a vast number of separate congregations ; (3) It does this because of its belief in the permanence of the present sects, and has no other idea of the Church than that it is a large sect.

But it should be observed that it coincides with the Clericalist system in that (1) It deals solely with the clergy, and looks upon the Church as concerned mainly, if not wholly, with public worship and its adjuncts, which is the Clericalist idea, thus ignoring the laity and the lay idea of the Church ; (2) It thus ensures that the future construction which must arise from the ruins which it makes shall be Clericalist to the core.

Mr. Gladstone spoke of it as follows ("Midlothian Speeches," 1885, p. 61) : "Many of those who write about Disestablishment in England, I think, know but little of the subject they are writing about. They frame plans of Disestablishment—plans utterly impossible to be entertained, either at the present time or any other. In the work called 'The Radical Programme,' there is a plan of Disestablishment which, even if the people of England had made up their minds on Disestablishment, I am quite satisfied never would be accepted or adopted. But they have not made up their minds. The question, instead of being familiar, is strange to the mass of the minds of the people of England."

The nation has to make its choice between these three modes of dealing with the Church system ; and it is important that it should consider them in reference to (1) Their advocates ; (2) Their mode of effecting their object ; (3) Their result.

(1) The Nationalist policy is advocated rather in parts than as a whole. Its assertors usually shrink from the full development of the idea which lies at the base of their policy. Their tendency is that of the old Whig party ; but those who might have supported it from the Liberal side incline, in many cases, to accept some policy like that of the Separatists as being, if not more liberal, at least more practicable ; while those who might have supported it as representing the Established system, have in many cases been attracted to the Clericalist side. The Clericalist method of reform springs almost

wholly from one section of the clergy, but has some support in the professional sympathies of the clergy generally, and in the enthusiasm of a small band of laymen and women who often arrogate to themselves specially the name of Church-people. Their principles are often supposed, even by their opponents, to be those of the Church of England; and, in the perplexity of the public mind as to Church matters, their policy often seems to gain ground. The Separatist system springs mainly from the more extreme section of the Non-conformists, especially those termed Political Dissenters. It has won the support of some of the Liberal politicians, and has made great way among those who are generally taken as the representatives of the masses, and even among the Wesleyan Methodists. But no responsible statesman has as yet shown that he has faced the policy of the Liberation Society and is prepared to give it effect. Mr. Gladstone, as we have seen, has said of that policy that it is one which could never, under any circumstances, be carried out. And almost all who have advocated it in general have admitted that it would need to be largely modified, especially in the matter of dis-endowment. The three systems, as has been already, said are represented respectively by the National Church Reform Union, the English Church Union, and the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Control.

(2) The policies differ in the manner by which it is sought to give them effect. The Nationalist is contented with the dominion or trusteeship of Parliament, as representing the nation, and hopes that as, at the beginning of the reforming period, the Pluralities Act, the Church Discipline Act, and the Acts establishing the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and transferring Ecclesiastical appeals from commissions of delegates to the Privy Council, brought the Church system into a more just and satisfactory condition, so, as the spirit of reform revives, the measures which he desires may pass into law, beginning with the establishment of Parochial Councils. The Clericalists shrink from legislation, partly from a fear lest "the State" should lay unholy hands upon "the Church," partly from a suspicion that the divergence of their aims from those of the nation generally would appear in parliamentary discussion. They therefore advocate the placing of power in bodies like the Convocations and the Diocesan Synods and Conferences, where Clericalism is supreme, and are content for the present with voluntary

adhesion, not, however, without hope that, when the system is fully organized, its decrees may gain a coercive force, first by moral means, and later on by church censures and excommunications. The Separatist has a traditional shrinking from parliamentary action, dating from the evil times of which the Act of Uniformity is the great surviving record. In consequence of action such as this, a kind of dogma was framed that the State ought to have nothing to do with religion. Those who represent this tendency in the House of Commons have acknowledged that, so long as the Church system is governed by the national organs, it is the duty of Parliament to see to its efficiency. But they advocate a single sweeping Act by which the whole of the reform or revolution advocated by them may be effected.

(3) The results which may be expected from the three policies respectively may, at least in part, be foreseen. The Nationalist proposals would, it is believed, by degrees remedy the evils now existing, and would tend progressively to unity in faith and in good works, and to the practical introduction of the Christian spirit of self-sacrifice and mutual care, especially that of the rich for the poor, throughout the whole range of life comprised within the nation. The Clericalist policy, if allowed, would no doubt fulfil its purpose; the whole Church system would be subject to the clergy, and the clerical assemblies would be active in the extension and regulation of the system of public worship. There is great fear that, like all clerical systems, it would tend to narrowness, unreality, and strife; and that it would dig deeper the chasm between the clergy and laity, between things secular and things sacred, and would make the Church system the foe rather than the organ of national development. The Separatist policy would probably be, in its immediate results, a heavy blow to the elements of feudalism, and of aristocratic and ecclesiastical assumption existing in the present system, as well as at abuses like those connected with patronage, which have made the Church system, in many places and times, repugnant to the sense of freedom and of justice. But it would destroy the parochial system, and the national commission given to its ministers and now generally recognized by the people; and it would lead to the establishment of a great clericalist sect to which an important part of the national inheritance would be handed over.

APPENDIX III.

OTHER SCHEMES OF CHURCH REFORM.

1.

DECLARATION FROM RESIDENTS AT CAMBRIDGE
ON CHURCH REFORM.

(*"Guardian,"* December 2, 1885.)

ADDRESS TO BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS.

WE the undersigned, resident members of the University of Cambridge, desire to lay respectfully before you the expression of our belief that the Church of England has long suffered serious injury from the postponement of necessary reforms, and of our earnest desire that advantage may be taken of the revival of further interest in ecclesiastical questions for the authoritative consideration of temperate measures of Church Reform, in order that they may be carried into effect with the least possible delay.

Certain definite evils affecting portions of the administration of the Church appear to us to need prompt correction. As examples may be given, abuses connected with the sale of patronage, excessive inequalities or anomalies in the distribution of revenues, and difficulties in the way of the removal of criminous and incompetent clerks.

But the reform which we believe to be most urgently needed is a more complete development of the constitution and government of the Church, central, diocesan, and parochial: and especially the admission of laymen of all classes, who are *bona fide* Churchmen, to a substantial share in the control of Church affairs.

Such a reform as this would, in our opinion, find a cordial welcome from clergymen and laymen of all schools of theology in the Church of England, and from the nation at large. It would do no injury to the organization which the Church has inherited from earlier ages, but would rather bring that organization into fuller and more salutary activity; while it would enable provision to be made for meeting with greater elasticity the growing needs of the time.

[Signed by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Ferrers, of Gonville and

Caius College, and many heads of colleges and Professors, including five Divinity Professors, the Professors of Hebrew and Greek, and seventeen other Professors.]

THE ARCHBISHOP'S REPLY.

(*"Guardian," February 10, 1886.*)

MY DEAR PROFESSOR WESTCOTT,—May I ask you to receive on behalf of the signatures of the important memorial from residents in the University of Cambridge, my sincere thanks for their closely considered counsel on important Church questions. These have long been matters of internal discussion, and good occasion has arisen for wider expression of opinion upon them. I need not assure you that such a memorial is certain to receive the best attention of the Bishops to whom it is addressed, and before whom I propose to lay it on the first occasion of their assembling.

EDWARD CANTUAR.

2.

AN ADDRESS TO THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY AND YORK,

PRESENTED IN APRIL, 1886 BY THE REV. M. S. WALROND, VICAR OF ST. LAWRENCE PRIORY, AND SIGNED BY MORE THAN 4,300 CLERGYMEN.

We, the undersigned Clergy of the Church of England, desire respectfully to express to your Lordships our feeling that the question of Church Reform has become one of pressing urgency, and to beg that, in the interests of the nation, you will take such steps as may seem best to forward legislation on the subject as early as possible in the coming Parliament.

The Reforms which are most pressing are, in our opinion, these—

1. To give a clearly defined share to the laity, by means of Parochial Councils and otherwise, in the administration of Church affairs.

We are aware that a movement in the direction of lay co-operation, initiated by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in 1870, has made in recent years, and with the hearty approval of your

Lordships, some progress by means of Ruridecanal, Diocesan, and Provincial Conferences. But though Parochial Councils were, equally with the other bodies above named, recommended by Convocation, little or nothing has been done towards their formation. It appears to us that the establishment of Parochial Councils, or of some such bodies, with well-defined statutory powers, is of primary importance, as tending in the most effectual way to increase the local interest of the laity in Church affairs, and to stimulate and maintain in them a feeling that the National Church is theirs, and that they have a responsible share in its life.

2. To reform Church Patronage so as to put an end to the traffic in livings, and to secure that no one be appointed to a living without previous consultation of the parishioners or their representatives.

With respect to these points the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1884 on the Church Patronage Bill appears to us to be of great value. We would venture to express our hope that your Lordships may be willing to promote a Bill which shall give legal effect to those of its Resolutions which prohibit the sale of next presentations and, except to public bodies, of advowsons, as well as to those which give to the parishioners the power of objecting to the presentee, and which propose to define more clearly the power of the Bishop to refuse to institute.

3. To provide further security against ministerial inefficiency, from whatever causes it may arise.

The Pluralities' Acts Amendment Act of last Session will, we believe be useful in this direction, but we are of opinion that greater power and facility should be placed in the hands of the Bishop (if deemed necessary, supported by assessors) to remove incompetent and criminous clerks.

4. To reduce the anomalies of the present distribution of the endowments of the Church.

Though much has been already done in this direction, further readjustment is, we believe, needed to meet the changed character of many localities and the shifting of population.

5. So far to relax the Act of Uniformity as to make it lawful to hold in our churches a greater variety of services, according to the needs and circumstances of the population in different parishes and districts.

There are other questions of grave importance on which many

Churchmen hold strong convictions. As, however, there is not the same unanimity concerning these questions, we desire to confine this memorial to the points mentioned above ; but most respectfully and most earnestly we appeal to your Lordships to use the weight of your high authority in favour of such reforms as we have indicated, believing that they cannot be delayed without detriment to the Church's influence and hindrance to her usefulness. We do so in the sincere belief that this expression of our opinions will not be unwelcome or altogether valueless. If your Lordships should be enabled to set on foot such a body of reforms, we feel assured that your work will meet with the grateful recognition of the nation.

We are, &c.

3.

REPORT OF THE UPPER HOUSE OF THE CONVOCAION OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY ON CHURCH REFORM.

Adopted February 18, 1886.

The Committee of the whole Upper House of Convocation of this Province, appointed to consider and report upon the subject of Church Reform, report as follows :—

That they have carefully considered the various proposals for Church Reform that have been recently put forward, and especially those addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, and to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.¹

Having duly considered these proposals, the Committee are of opinion that the Reforms which require immediate attention are five in number, viz. :—

1. The removal of the varied evils and abuses connected with the sale of Patronage, and, for further security against the appointment of unfit presentees, the increasing of the power of Bishops to refuse institution in certain cases under specified limits and conditions.

2. Simpler and more effectual methods of removing from the cure of souls incompetent, persistently negligent, and criminous clerks.

¹ *i.e.*, The Cambridge Memorial and the Memorial forwarded by Mr. Walrond.

It is also most desirable that the laws affecting sequestration of benefices should be further amended, so as to prevent the diversion of the income of the benefice from its original purpose to the payment of the debts of the Incumbent.

3. The correction, so far as may be found expedient and practicable, of existing anomalies in the endowments of the Church—a reform which we believe would largely help to meet the changed character of many localities, and the shifting of population to which some of the Memorialists refer.

4. The enlargement of Convocation by an increase in the number of the Proctors for the Clergy, and the statutory concession to Convocation of increased freedom in the internal regulation of matters involving the efficiency of the Church, subject always to the supremacy of the Crown and the authority of Parliament.

5. The assignment to the faithful Laity of the Church of a more clearly defined share in the administration of its affairs.

In reference to the above proposed reforms, which have constantly been advocated in this House and the Lower House of Convocation, we desire to make the following comments :—

As regards (1), we are glad to be able to state that the heads of a comprehensive measure have been considered by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, that they have been this day sent down to the Lower House and the House of Laymen, that a Bill will very shortly be drafted, and that it will be introduced by the Archbishop of this Province into the House of Lords.

As regards (2), the importance and urgency of which has been frequently set forth in Convocation, a step has already been taken by the passing of the Pluralities Acts Amendment Act of last Session, but we are distinctly of opinion that further steps are urgently required, and that greater security against the ministrations of unworthy clergymen should be given to parishes, by the simplification of existing modes of procedure, and by enactments which may obviate the ruinous costs which at present are often incurred in suits of this nature, especially in cases of suspension from office and deprivation.

As regards (3), we note with satisfaction that no proposals have been brought before us for any equalization of official incomes of the the Clergy, but we are distinctly of opinion that steps should at once

be taken to reduce existing anomalies, and to improve the incomes of benefices of small value ; especially where the population is large. This, we believe, will be best effected by the formation of a large central fund raised by equitable taxation of ecclesiastical incomes. The principles for the formation of this fund already exist in the system of First Fruits and Tenths—a system which, it will be remembered, this House and the Lower House have proposed largely to modify, with the view of facilitating the retirement of aged and infirm Incumbents, and effecting other salutary changes in the disposition of the funds of the Church.

In regard of (4), it is, perhaps, unnecessary for us to do more than first to refer to the repeated efforts that have been made by Convocation to enlarge the representation of the parochial Clergy, and to express the hope that very speedily effect may be given to plans that have been many times discussed, and fully agreed upon. Secondly, we may express the earnest hope that some measure of a similar nature to that presented to the House of Lords by the late Bishop of London, twelve years ago, may receive the sanction of Parliament, and open the way for such changes in the Rubrics, and such additions to the Services of the Church, as may give fuller scope to the quickened life and energies of the Church.

In regard of (5), while we give full weight to the desire that has been expressed for the admission of the faithful Laity of the Church, of all classes, to a substantial share in the control of Church affairs, we still feel that we require to be more fully informed as to the extent to which it is deemed to be desirable that the laity should share in the administration of the affairs of the Church. We look for valuable information and assistance in this, as in other matters, from the newly constituted House of Laymen.

Meanwhile we recommend the formation of voluntary parochial Boards or Councils, which, we are well aware, have been recommended in many dioceses, and have been in operation in many parishes. It is otherwise as regards parochial Boards or Councils with defined statutory powers. The formation of these we cannot, as at present advised, recommend, until the principles on which they are to be founded shall have been fully considered by the Synods of the Church, and shall have received their general approval.

It must always be remembered that parochial Boards, however constituted, can only properly be regarded as a portion of a still

further development of conciliar Church government. But this development can only be brought about by degrees, and by the steady progress of organized growth. For the present we must be content to endeavour to bring about some measures of united deliberation between the two separate Convocations, which would necessarily form the first stage in the organization of that National Church Council of Clergy and Laity which is obviously desired by many of the Memorialists.

We conclude with returning our fullest thanks to those who have brought before us the various Memorials which we have considered in drawing up this Report. We are grateful to the Memorialists for the help they have given us, and we humbly trust that under the guidance of the great Head of the Church we may be permitted to assist in bringing about the Reforms specified in this Report.

(Signed)

EDW. CANTUAR, *President.*

THE REPORT OF THE LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION, MAY, 1886.

1. That this House desires to promote the adoption of well-considered reforms in the organization and discipline of the Church of England.

2. That such reforms must be consistent with the maintenance of the following principles :—

(1) The Catholic faith and Apostolic order of the Church of England are unalterable.

(2) There is, by Divine appointment, a distinction of office between the ordained ministers and the congregation of the Church, and the powers intrusted to the laity may not extend to such things as belong to the office of the clergy.

(3) The unit of the Church's episcopal system is the diocese, not the parish; therefore the parish, the parish priest, and the congregation must be subject to the authority of the Bishop.

(4) The Church of England is national, not in the sense that the whole nation, as such, may deal as it will with the Church's doctrine and discipline, but in the sense that the Church of England is specially recognized by the constitution of this country, and that the whole nation has a claim to the administration of its ordinances and

the services of its clergy in accordance with its doctrine and discipline, and not otherwise.

(5) To the Church's Synods, by constitutional right, belongs a legislative power, subject to such sanction of the Crown and authority of Parliament as the laws of the Church and realm require.

(6) The right of ecclesiastical patronage is to be regarded as having the character of a trust rather than of property.

(7) The property of an incumbent in the income of his benefice is held subject to the efficient discharge of the duties of his cure.

3. That, in regard to Church Patronage, this House calls attention to the resolution agreed to in the Sessions of February 16, 17, 18, and 19, 1886.

4. That, in regard to clergy discipline, this House concurs with the Upper House in desiring the simplification of existing rules of procedure, and enactments which may obviate the ruinous costs which are at present often incurred.

5. That the question of pensions for aged and infirm clergy, beneficed and unbeneficed, demands the immediate attention of the Church.

6. That the House desires again to press the urgent need of a larger representation of the parochial clergy in this House.

7. That this House is of opinion that it would be for the interests of the Church if the two Convocations of Canterbury and York should, from time to time, meet in conference.

8. That this House re-affirms the principles of the Draft Bill to provide facilities for the amendment, from time to time, of the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England agreed to by both Convocations in the year 1879; and also desires to see greater facilities afforded in general for giving effect to the deliberate conclusions of the provincial Synods of the Church.

9. That this House is of opinion :

(1) That, while the House cannot recommend the establishment of parochial councils with statutory powers, voluntary parochial councils, summoned by the clergy, and composed of the faithful laity of all classes, may, in many parishes, be established with advantage—such councils being subject in all matters to the authority of the Bishop.

(2) That in all parishes the parochial council should be subject to the authority of the Bishop.

10. That this House is of opinion that it would strengthen the authority of the Bishop if he were to call to his aid, as occasion might require, a diocesan synod of clergy, or a council of clergy and laymen.

11. That the prolocutor be requested to take the foregoing report and resolutions to the Upper House.

4.

REFORMS PROPOSED BY THE BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL (RYLE)

(in a series of papers originally published in 1872, and lately re-issued. W. Hunt & Co.).

1. As to Bishops. A large addition to be made to their number ; their incomes to be halved ; only five, elected annually by the rest, to sit in the House of Lords ; each Bishop to have a standing council of clergy and laity ; and the mode of appointment to be by the Crown selecting one of three elected by the clergy of the diocese.

2. The Convocations to be merged in one assembly, consisting of all the Bishops, with three clergymen and three laymen for each diocese.

3. The cathedral to be under the Bishop, who should be dean, with two chaplains with incomes of £750 a year instead of the chapters. The surplus incomes to constitute a fund for increasing poor livings, and for a superannuation scheme for the clergy.

4. The services to be shortened ; a freer use of the Prayer-book, and non-liturgical services, to be sanctioned.

5. As to the Ministry. An order of sub-deacons to be instituted. Diocesan evangelists to be employed. Admission to be made stricter ; orders not to be indelible.

6. As to the Laity. Nothing to be done in Convocation, dioceses, or parishes, without the consent of the laity. The laity of each parish to have a voice in the appointment of their minister. Ecclesiastical judges to be laymen.

7. Patronage. Sales of patronage to be prohibited.

The provisions about the laity are regarded as the most important.

5.

DECLARATION BY THE LATE LORD SHAFTESBURY
AND HIS FRIENDS.

At a Meeting held on the invitation of the Earl of Shaftesbury, at his residence in Grosvenor Square, at which about forty clergymen attended, on May 11, 1872, the following declaration was unanimously adopted :—

The undersigned, recognizing the urgent necessity of combining in defence of the Church Establishment, and being deeply convinced that the maintenance of her ecclesiastical and parochial system is alike the duty of the State, and conducive to the highest interests of the people, think it desirable to set forth the bases on which they are prepared to co-operate with fellow-Churchmen for these important objects.

I. Accepting the Bible as their sole rule of faith, and believing the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England to be in accordance with it, they would not be parties to any changes calculated to affect, directly or indirectly, the dogmatic teaching of the Church.

II. They recognize the necessity of large reforms in the external system of the Church, so as to extend her machinery, adapt it to the exigencies of the times, and render all her resources available for practical work.

III. They think that these reforms should include the following particulars :—

1. Increased liberty in the use of the Prayer-book services, and the exclusion from the public worship of the Church of England of services not taken from the Prayer-book.
2. As regards the Athanasian Creed, to provide that the recital of the Creed in the public services of the Church be not compulsory, but at the same time to retain the Creed in its place in the Prayer-book, as an invaluable embodiment of the Catholic Faith, which may be "proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."
3. The reform of Convocation by an adequate representation of the parochial clergy, and the admission of the laity.
4. The provision of some mode whereby the laity of a parish or congregation may exercise a voice in the introduction, within

the law, of changes in their Church service, and may enjoy facilities for taking further part in the local administration and spiritual work of the Church.

5. The consideration of the existing system of Church Patronage, and where possible, the amendment of it.
6. The reform of the Cathedral system, so as to utilize Cathedral endowments for spiritual and practical work to a greater extent, and bring Cathedral arrangements into harmony with the parochial system.

7. The subdivision of the largest dioceses; and a substitute for the *congé d'élire*.

They are of opinion that, under the present peculiar circumstances of the Church of England, both clergymen and laymen may honestly and properly unite with fellow Churchmen for the accomplishment of these objects, without any compromise of principle in reference to other points of grave importance on which they may differ.

This declaration has received 813 signatures, including the names of most of the clergy of the section of the Church from which the declaration emanates.

6.

MANIFESTO OF CONFORMIST AND NONCONFORMIST MINISTERS MEETING AT ST. JUDE'S, WHITE- CHAPEL, IN DECEMBER, 1885.

A REFORMED NATIONAL CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Three centuries ago the Church of England was reformed to suit the needs of those times. To suit present needs there must be a fresh Reformation.

Disestablishment and disendowment have been offered as the best mode of bringing the Church of England into harmony with the altered conditions of national life. Against this course we, the undersigned, conforming and nonconforming ministers, protest. We hold that Disestablishment should not come till all efforts at reform have failed. We believe that one result of Disestablishment would be, either to secularize cathedrals and churches which are hallowed by the whole religious history of the nation, or to hand them over, with their endowments, to a body of men, whose tendency it is to

prefer their own ecclesiastical system to the interests of the whole people.

We would therefore declare our united opinion that the Church ought to be so reformed as to become once more, in fact as well as in name, the Church of the nation; that, in view of this great object, the endowments of the Church ought to remain sacred to religious uses; the people to have a voice in the election of its ministers, in the control of its funds, and in the arrangement of its services; and the basis of the Church to be so widened as to include, as far as possible, the entire Christian thought and life of the nation.

The Church of England would thus be nationalized, while its ancient parochial organization would be preserved for promoting, what all the churches alike aim at, the spread of true religion among the people.

[The principal signatories of this manifesto were: The Revs. Dr. E. Abbott, B. Alford, S. A. Barnett, J. Black, G. Blunt, Professor Bonny, Dr. Bradley, Canon Bulstrode, J. R. Fisher, J. L. Forster, Carteret Fletcher, Canon Fremantle, E. C. Hawkins, A. W. Jephson, Josh. Kirkman, B. Lambert, R. Marriot, J. L. Marshall, Dr. Martineau, G. P. Pownall, J. S. Reaney, H. C. Shuttleworth, G. Vance Smith, H. Solly, S. A. Steinthall, C. W. E. Stubbs, U. Thomas, H. Tarrant, S. A. Tipple, C. A. Upton, C. Fleming Williams, J. Wilkinson, J. M. Wilson, E. M. Young. They include, besides many well-known parochial clergymen, three headmasters of great public schools, and representatives of the Baptist, Congregationalist, Huntingtonian, and Unitarian denominations.]

7.

SCHEME OF DR. MARTINEAU.

(*National Church Association.*)

A proposal for a Federal Church system has been made by Dr. Martineau in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1887 (and has been reprinted for the National Church Association, a body formed for the promotion of this scheme—Secretary, Mr. J. M. Macdonald, 15, Thurlow Road, Hampstead). The following are the chief provisions:—

The Episcopal Church to be disestablished, that is, all ecclesias-

tical statutes to cease; and the Church incorporated as a separate body, with power to frame its own constitution and to govern itself.

The Episcopal Church to retain all cathedrals and parish churches, and all endowments made since 1662.

The rest of the property to be administered by National Church Commissioners, and, subject to life interests, to be apportioned between the Episcopal and other confederate churches.

The Confederate Churches to be all those religious bodies who satisfy the commissioners that they have two hundred congregations and have existed for one hundred years.

The general affairs of the Federal Church (consisting of all the confederated churches) to be managed by a National Church Assembly, meeting once a year. This assembly to conduct religious education, moral reforms, and Christian efforts of other kinds.

Deans and Chapters to be appointed by direct or delegated power of the National Church Assembly. Three of the canons of each chapter to be of non-episcopalian churches. Other services besides those of the Episcopal Church to be held in cathedrals, and a united service and communion to be held once a year.

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